

R H Green
Report 1941

Grammar of PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

BY

WM. B. STEVENSON, D.LITT.



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1924

Oxford University Press

*London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai*
Humphrey Milford Publisher to the UNIVERSITY

PRINTED IN ENGLAND

AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

P R E F A C E

THIS introduction to Palestinian Jewish Aramaic presupposes a general knowledge of Hebrew or of some other Semitic language, such as Syriac or Arabic. It is intended primarily to equip students for the reading of the Targums (OJ) and the Aramaic portions of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim (PTM), and to provide a help to the study of the Aramaic elements contained in the writings of the New Testament.

The Aramaic of the books of Ezra and Daniel is perhaps best learned after a study has been made of one of the dialects just named. Its forms and uses, therefore, are noted in a supplementary way throughout the grammar. At the same time those who choose to begin with Old Testament Aramaic (OTA) may do so with the help of the special paradigms at the end of the book and by concentrating chiefly on the notes marked OTA, which have been placed towards the close of most of the sections into which the grammar is divided.

The pioneer work of Gustaf Dalman is everywhere presupposed and made use of. His grammar of OJ and PTM formulates the now accepted principles of their treatment (see p. 9) and provides an inexhaustible store-house of material for further investigation. In accordance with his conclusions the punctuation of the supralinear MSS. is taken as a standard, although transliterated uniformly into the familiar sublinear system and so, in some particulars, made more precise (see § 2).

Dalman's grammar does not include syntax, so that the notes on syntax are a special feature of this grammar and are based almost entirely on the writer's personal observations. The references

PREFACE

added to the syntactical notes, and in other cases also, are intended to show the range of the evidence found, and to make it easy to test and supplement the conclusions drawn. They are not intended to be used by beginners. The evidence for the syntax of PTM has been taken wholly from the texts of Dalman's *Dialektproben*.

The scantiness of the material available for the study of OTA often makes the formulation of general statements about it difficult and practically inexpedient. The method adopted, therefore, has frequently been that of giving a precise numerical statement of the facts. The paradigm of the verb, also, has been made, more closely than is usual, a reproduction of existing verbal forms. Strack's edition of the texts, in his *Biblical Aramaic Grammar*, is assumed to be referred to, except when otherwise stated. Special note has been made of the evidence of the supralinear MSS. of OTA, of which Strack gives specimens.

References to the Targum of Onkelos are made implicitly to the supralinear editions of Kahle, Merx, and Praetorius, so far as they go (see Literature, p. 8). In the case of Gen. 1-4 and 24, the source is Merx's *Chrestomathy*, for other parts of the Pentateuch, Berliner's *Onkelos* is used. The references to Dalman's *Dialektproben* are made by means of figures referring to the page, paragraph, and line, generally without mention of the title, sometimes with the abbreviation Chrest. prefixed.

Much of the material in most sections of the grammar may be passed over on a first reading. Students working without a teacher are recommended to confine themselves at first to the notes marked with an asterisk. One or two sections which should be read completely are similarly marked. Those who have a fair working knowledge of Hebrew may begin to read the chapters of Genesis contained in Merx's *Chrestomathy* after they have completed § 8 of the *Grammar*. Only texts with a supralinear vocalization should

be used at first. Dalman's interesting *Dialektproben*, if it can be obtained, may be commenced at p. 14, after a few chapters of the Targum have been read. Unfortunately the *Dialektproben* is now out of print and there is no immediate prospect of its re-issue. The publication of further selections from the Aramaic portions of the Jerusalem Talmud, with an English vocabulary, would be of great assistance to English students of this literature.

The language of the *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, recently edited and translated by A. Cowley (1923), is closely related to the idioms of OJ, PTM, and OTA. The announcement by the editor of his intention to publish a grammar of the dialect of these papyri makes it superfluous to apologize for its exclusion from the scope of the present work. Still it may be said that, on the scale of treatment here attempted, no more than three dialects could properly be included. A more comprehensive work must be preceded by other detailed studies, which do not yet exist.

It is a very pleasant duty to acknowledge the help and encouragement the writer has received from the members of the *Society for Old Testament Study*, both individually and collectively. Without the assurance of their support and interest this grammar would never have been published nor expanded into its present form. Special thanks are due to my friend, the energetic and resourceful secretary, Dr. T. H. Robinson, of Cardiff University College.

I am greatly obliged to the readers of the Clarendon Press for their vigilant attention to every detail and to the Delegates for the cordiality of their acceptance of my work. My Assistant, Mr. E. J. Harris, B.D., has twice read through the proofs and has verified many references and has helped to remove inaccuracies that might otherwise have escaped detection.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

Glasgow, 5th March, 1924.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	3
LITERATURE	8
1. Introduction	9
2. Orthography	11
3. Personal Pronouns (nominative forms)	15
4. „ „ (suffix forms)	16
5. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adjectives	18
6. Interrogatives	20
7. The Relative Pronoun	21
8. Nouns and Adjectives (general)	22
9. Classification of Nouns (declensions)	26
10. Inflection of Nouns (masculine types)	29
11. „ „ (feminines)	34
12. Pronominal Suffixes (with singular nouns)	38
13. „ „ (with masc. plur. stems)	40
14. „ „ (with fem. plur. stems)	42
15. לִתְהַ, אִתְהַ, &c.	43
16. Verbal Stems	44
17. Perfect Tenses	46
18. Imperfect Tenses	48
19. Imperatives	51
20. Infinitives	52
21. Participles	54
22. Compound Tenses	57
23. Influence of Gutturals upon Verbal Forms	60

TABLE OF CONTENTS

7

	PAGE
24. Verbs, initial Nun	61
25. " initial Aleph	63
26. " initial Yodh and Waw	65
27. " final Yodh and Aleph	66
28. " " " , perfect tenses	68
29. " " " , impff., imperatt., and infinn.	70
30. " " " , inflexion of particc.	72
31. נְתָא, חָזַק, יִתְּמַרֵּךְ, קָלַבְּנָה	73
32. Monosyllabic Stems (יְיָ)	75
33. " " (inflected forms)	77
34. Partially Monosyllabic Stems (יְיָ)	78
35. " " (inflected forms)	80
36. Verbal Suffixes	81
37. " " (with נְל stems)	84
38. " " (in OTA)	86
Paradigm of Verb (OJ)	88
" " Verbal Suffixes	90
Tables of OTA	92

LITERATURE

- BERLINER, A. *Targum Onkelos* (text, with introduction and notes). Berlin, 1884.
- Massorah zum Targum Onkelos. Leipzig, 1877.
- BURNEY, C. F. *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*. Oxford, 1922.
- DALMAN, GUSTAF. *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch*. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig, 1905.
- Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Frankfurt a. Main, 1922.
- Aramäische Dialektproben... mit Wörterverzeichnis. Leipzig, 1896.
- Worte Iesu. Leipzig, 1898. (English trans., T. & T. Clark, 1902.)
- DIETTRICH. Grammatische Beobachtungen zu drei... Handschriften des Onqelostargums. ZATW xx 1900 (pp. 148-59).
- KAHLE, PAUL. *Masoreten des Ostens* — die ältesten punktierten Handschriften des Alten Testaments und der Targume (in Kittel's Beiträge, Heft 15). Leipzig, 1913.
- LAGARDE, PAUL DE. *Prophetae chaldaice*. Leipzig, 1872.
- LANDAUER, S. *Studien zu Merx' Chrestomathia targumica*. In Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, vol. iii, 1888 (pp. 263-92).
- MERX, ADALBERT. *Chrestomathia Targumica* (with critical notes and Latin glossary). Berlin, 1888.
- PRAETORIUS, FRANZ. *Targum zu Josua in Jemenischer Überlieferung*. Berlin, 1899.
- Targum zum Buch der Richter in Jemenischer Überlieferung. Berlin, 1900.
- STRACK, H. L. *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, mit... Texten und einem Wörterbuch. 6te Auflage. Munich, 1921.

PALESTINIAN JEWISH ARAMAIC

§ I. INTRODUCTION

DALMAN'S *Grammar of Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic* (Leipzig, 1894) opened a new period in the study of the Aramaic dialects. It separated clearly for the first time the dialects of the Targums, Talmuds, and Midrashim, and it supplied a coherent and correct vocalization of the grammatical forms of the Targum of Onkelos and of the related dialect used in the Palestinian Talmud. The vocalization was based upon Yemenite MSS., which employed supralinear vowel signs. The second edition of Dalman's grammar (1905), along with his dictionary (1901), supplemented and revised his early work, but did not change its fundamental character.

It was now made clear that the Targums of Onkelos (Pentateuch) and Jonathan (Prophets) were written in practically the same Aramaic dialect (OJ), somewhat modified by the influence of the Hebrew originals, and that the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim preserved the remains of another dialect (PTM), closely related to the former. Because of this relationship Dalman supplied the unvocalized texts of PTM with vowels determined for the most part by the analogy of the supralinear tradition of the Targums. In this whole literature he saw, with good reason, the best avenue of approach to the Aramaic speech of Palestine in the time of Christ and a valuable help to the study of the language and thought of the New Testament.

The origin, character, and variations of the supralinear MSS. of

the Targums have been greatly elucidated by the patient and extensive researches of Paul Kahle (published in 1913). His conclusions may be summarized as follows. The oldest and best tradition of the Aramaic of the Targums is contained in MSS. of Babylonian (i.e. Mesopotamian) origin. The Yemenite MSS. represent this tradition modified by the principles of the school of Tiberias in Palestine. The measure of Palestinian influence increased as time went on, so that the older Yemenite MSS. are nearer to the Babylonian tradition than the later. The sublinear vocalization of Berliner's edition of Onkelos goes back ultimately to a MS. which used the supralinear system. The forms of Berliner's edition are not real Aramaic forms, but through them we may reach a supralinear tradition similar to that of the MSS. which employ a supralinear vocalization.

The texts of PTM are to a large extent stories written in a simple popular style. The language, according to Dalman, is that of Galilee in the third and fourth centuries A.D. Part of what is contained in the Midrashim may be dated as late as the sixth century. There are some differences of vocabulary between the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, but no very obvious differences of grammar. The Aramaic of these Targums has a more literary character than the language of the Galilean stories, and is supposed to have been moulded first in Judea. The Targums themselves may not have received their final literary form before the fifth century, but the idiom in which they are written probably goes back at least to the second century and perhaps earlier. Dalman's interpretation of the phraseology of the New Testament in the light of Aramaic usage proceeds on the view that we have in OJ and PTM, respectively, close approximations to the literary and popular forms of the language of Palestine in the time of Christ.¹

¹ See especially Dalman's *Words of Jesus*, Introduction, section viii. The most recent attempt to show the influence of Aramaic upon a NT writer is

§ 2.¹ ORTHOGRAPHY

1. In unvocalized texts (PTM) א, ח, ו, י, and ה are freely used to indicate vowels. Waw and yodh frequently denote short vowels, as well as long vowels. Typical examples are: מילה = מילה, איתילד, אפין = איתין, עגלא = עיגלא, מקטל = מקטל, אפונ = אינון = אינון, חפה = חפה, בלה = בלה or עיגלא (עיגלא) and the preformative vowel of verbal reflexives (איתילד) are commonly indicated in this way. The insertion of vowel signs into texts originally unvocalized accounts for the existence of forms like מקטל, איפון, &c. In unvocalized texts ו and י may be written for consonantal waw and yodh in the middle of a word (e.g. לילוֹן = לילון), and י for diphthongal ai or for ה pronounced as a double consonant, with daghesh (e.g. קיימ = קיים). נ and ח both represent a final long vowel, especially ā. In PTM and OJ נ is the more commonly used. In OTA נ is preferred in some cases, e.g. to represent the emphatic ending נ (§ 8), ח in other cases, e.g. in the feminine termination ח. In (who?) and עאל (he entered) נ denotes the short ā, in order to distinguish these words from the prepositions מ and על. But מ and על are generally used. Final diphthongal ai is often denoted by נ:

2. The punctuation of the MSS. of Babylonian origin published by Kahle is by no means uniform, varying through several stages from a quite simple system to one which is highly complex. The system of the Yemenite MSS. is a variation of the simple Babylonian system, and the resemblances and differences of these two are, principally, what is explained in the following notes.

C. F. Burney's *Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922). It gives a most valuable synopsis of the Aramaic idioms and constructions which may be looked for in the Greek of NT.

¹ This section may be omitted when the grammar is being read for the first time. A knowledge of the ordinary Hebrew alphabet is presupposed.

3. In the simple Babylonian punctuation there are signs for daghesh (a supralinear $\ddot{\cdot}$ or $\dot{\cdot}$) and raphe (supralinear \overline{P} or \overline{C}), which, however, are seldom used (Kahle, p. 167). Some Yemenite MSS. do not employ daghesh at all (as in Merx, pp. 57 ff.), others regularly use the Palestinian sign (so in Judges and Joshua as edited by Praetorius). The supralinear MSS. of OTA in Strack occasionally exhibit the Babylonian signs for daghesh (Dan. 4. 24, 5. 8, 12, &c.) and raphe (Dan. 5. 7, 12).

4. The supralinear punctuation at first had no sign equivalent to the Palestinian silent shewa. Some Babylonian MSS., however, which use a complex system of punctuation, employ the sign for vocal shewa ambiguously as in the Palestinian system. In Yemenite MSS. the shewa sign usually represents only vocal shewa, although in some few cases it may represent Palestinian silent shewa also.

5. Pathah furtive is seldom represented in either the Babylonian or the Yemenite MSS., but was, presumably, pronounced in the positions indicated by the Palestinian tradition, and so may be introduced into a sublinear transliteration of the supralinear signs. The suffix $\mathbb{M}.$ (§ 4) is, however, to be excepted from this treatment, in accordance with the analogy of OTA.

6. The following vowel signs are used in the supralinear system of the simplest type :

Qames	$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	Holem	$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
Pathah and seghol	\leftarrow	Shureq	$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
Sere	$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	Vocal shewa	$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
Hireq	$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	(including hatephs)	

The first six of these signs denote regularly both long vowels and short vowels. Qames at first had only the sound of \bar{a} in 'psalm' (approximately), not that of \bar{a} in 'ball', and holem represented both Palestinian \check{o} and Palestinian holem. The later Yemenite MSS., however, use qames for \check{o} , so that, at different

periods, both בְּלָי and בְּלֵי were pronounced as Hebrew בְּלִי. No distinction is made in the representation of pathah and seghol, although, presumably, both sounds were used in actual speech. In transliterating the supralinear pathah into sublinear writing, the analogy of OTA and of Hebrew will determine our choice between sublinear pathah and sublinear seghol.

7. In Babylonian and sporadically in Yemenite MSS., pathah is used for ḥateph pathah, following אַ and עַ and sometimes following חַ and כַּ (e.g. אֲעַבֵּיד for אֲעַבְּדָה אֲמַר for אֲמַר). This usage occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Dan. 3. 12, 3. 13, 4. 28, 4. 29), but not consistently (Dan. 4. 32, עֲבֹדָתָךְ, 5. 5 שְׁעַתָּה).

8. Some supralinear MSS. have forms like אַיְלָהָא, אַיְנָשׁ, אַיְלָהִים, אַנְוֹשׁ (= Hebrew אַרְחָם, אַלְהִים), instead of forms commencing with אַ or אֵ. It is possible that this orthography represents an alternative pronunciation of the words in question, but more likely that yodh, with şere, simply represented „„, just as pathah stood for ..-. Similarly נִצְלִי (Chrest. 29. 21) was neither a phonetic variant nor a grammatical equivalent of נִצְלִי (plur. impf. Pael), but was, originally, precisely the same word, differently spelled. This use of yodh (with şere) to denote vocal shewa occurs in the supralinear MSS. of OTA, and it throws fresh light on the Hebrew forms referred to in Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 23 h = אַזְוֹר = אַזְוֹר.

9. Some supralinear MSS. write ' instead of ئ, especially at the beginning of words, but also in other cases (e.g. in קִירִי = קִירֵי in Deut. 9. 28—Kahle, p. 14). This alternative orthography may also be understood to imply an alternative pronunciation—yž or ئ (cf. Syriac)—but it should rather be regarded as an alternative way of representing the sound that is usually written as vocal shewa.

10. ḥateph qames is sometimes explicitly written in Yemenite MSS., especially in those of later date and especially in certain words, such as קְרָם.

11. With the exceptions already noted, the ḥatephs of the sub-

linear system are not specially represented in the supralinear writing. Still the distinctive sounds of the ḥatephs were no doubt employed by those who wrote the supralinear system. The forms ֻ (and) and ֹ (who, which), which are used before certain consonants followed by vocal shewa, may be taken as proof that these following consonants were pronounced with ḥateph pathah. ḥatephs may therefore be employed in transliterating the supralinear into the sublinear system.

12. In Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack) ֻ is the form of the conjunction ‘and’ before words commencing with a consonant followed by vocal shewa (Dan. 3. 21, 4. 29, 5. 20, 6. 5, 6. 17), even when that following consonant is ב, מ, or ס (Dan. 5. 11, 6. 11). Before ב, מ, and ס not followed by vocal shewa, the form of the conjunction is ַ, implicitly, at least, since the vowel is generally not explicitly represented. In the Yemenite MSS. of OJ ַ is used in all these cases, as in sublinear Hebrew texts (so in Praetorius’s edition of Joshua and Judges and in Berliner’s *Onkelos*).

13. When the initial consonant of a word is followed by vocal shewa simple, the supralinear punctuation does not indicate its presence if it is preceded by the conjunction ֻ or ֹ (Gen. 1. 10, 1. 17, Judg. 1. 17, 1. 22, Dan. 3. 21, 5. 11, 6. 17, &c.). This may imply that the vocal shewa in these cases, as in Hebrew לְקַרְבָּן and נְהִרְיָה, was no longer pronounced (so Dalman, p. 240). Some MSS. treat words that commence with נ and נ in the same way so that, for example, נְחַנְתָּה may perhaps be an alternative for נְחַנְתָּה (cf. Heb. לְקַרְבָּר).

In the Babylonian MSS. and in the supralinear MSS. of OTA (Strack), however, vocal shewa following an initial consonant is frequently unrepresented in writing, especially in association with particular forms or words, such as the particles ב, מ, ס, and ו. This implies that the absence of the sign of a hurried vowel (vocal shewa) is not a certain proof of its absence in speech, and makes

any conclusion regarding the case of the preceding paragraph uncertain.

14. In OTA the diphthong *ai* causes mutation, like a simple vowel, and silent shewa is written after the yodh of the diphthong (e.g. in בִּתְהַיָּה, בִּתְהַיָּה). Compare also, perhaps, קְדֻמִּתָּא (§ 11, note 12) and מִנְתְּחִיבִי (Ps. 116. 7, in the Hebrew Psalter). These analogies may be allowed to determine the sublinear vocalization of OJ and PTM in such words as עֲבֹרִתָּא (§ 6), תִּרְדֵּן (§ 11, note 7), אַיִתִי (§ 31), and the pronominal suffixes יְהָא and יְכִי (§ 13).

§ 3. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (nominative forms)

PTM		OJ	
PLUR.	SING.	PLUR.	SING.
אָנוּ	אָנָּא	אָנְחָנָא (נְחָנָא)	אָנָּא 1 com.
אָתָּנוּ	אָתָּא (אָנָּתָּא)	אָתָּה	אָתָּה 2 masc.
—	אָתָּה (אָנָּתָּה)	אָתָּה	אָתָּה fem.
אָינָּנוּ, הַיָּנוּ	הָוָא	הָוָא	הָוָא 3 masc.
אָינָּנוּ, הַיָּנוּ	הָיָה	הָבָן	הָיָה fem.

Accent. 1*. In OJ and OTA the pronouns of the 1 person plural are accented on the penultimate syllable. This is one of the few exceptions to the general rule in these dialects that the last syllable of a word is accented.

Forms. 2. The shortened forms חָנָן, נָנָן, and sometimes occur independently in PTM (cf. נְשָׁה for אָנְשָׁה and אָנְחָנָא for אָנְחָנָה). They, and חָתָן = חָתָן, also coalesce with participles into tense forms (§ 21, note 7).

3*. אָינָנוּ, &c., are unvocalized spellings equivalent to אָנוּ, &c. (§ 2, 1).

OTA. 4. For the forms of OTA see paradigm, p. 92. The last letter of אָנְחָנָא is נ three times and once ה. אָנְתָה is

a Kethibh form, always changed to אַנְתָּה by Qere, but pointed אַנְתָּה by the supralinear MSS. in Strack. הַמִּי אַנְתָּה and אַנְתָּה occur, as nominatives, each once only.

Idioms. 5. The expressions קָדוֹם עֲבָדָא ('a certain man', § 5, note 12) and קָדוֹם אֲפָתָא are used by PTM in modesty for אַנְתָּה (cf. Hebrew עֲבָדָךְ) and in curses or protestations for אַתָּה. In polite address, for אַתָּה, OJ uses רְבָנִי and רְבָנִית and PTM מְנוּ, מְנוּתִי and רְבָנִי (cf. Hebrew רְבָנִי and רְבָנִית).

6. For 'he himself', &c., see § 4, note 6.

§ 4. PERSONAL PRONOUNS (suffix forms)

PTM	OJ	OJ, PTM
PLUR.	PLUR.	SING.
וּ .	וְ נָ . ¹	וְ . 1 com.
כָּוּ .	כְּוָ .	וְ . 2 masc.
כָּיּ .	כְּיָ .	וְ . fem.
חָוּן, וּ .	חְוָן .	וְ .. 3 masc.
חָיּ .	חְיָ .	וְ . fem.

1*. These suffixes are equivalent to English possessive adjectives and to the genitives of the personal pronouns in other languages. For the possessive pronouns see § 7, note 4.

Forms. 2. The suffixes of the table are those joined to the singular stems of nouns ending with a consonant. In slightly different forms they are attached to verbs to express the accusatives of the personal pronouns (§ 36). יְבִי . (2 s. f.) and הַנְּתִי . (3 s. f.), used in the marriage contract printed in Dalman's *Dialektproben*, p. 4 (ll. 4, 5, 6, 8), are older, uncontracted, forms of וְיָהּ . and וְהָיָה . respectively. See also § 12, note 2, and § 13. For the variations of OTA, see p. 93.

¹ See § 3, note 1.

3. Merx (*Chrest. Targum.*) prints קָבֵלְיָה in Gen. 2. 20 for קָבַלְתָּא and תִּחְזֹקְתָּה for תִּחְזֹקָה in Gen. 2. 21.

Accus. Cases. 4*. The accusatives of the personal pronouns are expressed in three ways: (1) by suffixes (§ 36), (2) by יָהִי, &c., (3) by לִי, &c. OJ nearly always follows the Hebrew text in its choice between a verbal suffix and an independent accusative form. In the latter case it regularly employs יָהִי, &c., seldom לִי, &c. For לִיהִי and לְהַזֵּן after particc. see Gen. 3. 15 and Exod. 3. 9.

In PTM לִי, &c., are used as accusatives after participles (18. 12, 19. 5, 20. 11, 14, &c.) and sometimes after finite forms of the verb (16. ii. 9, 26. 3, 28. 15). A pronominal object after a verb is usually expressed by a suffix. יָהִי, &c., occur after participles (16. ii. 3, 23. 2), perfects (19. ii. 14, 21. 7, 25. ii. 5), and impff. (22. ii. 5).

In OTA the pronominal object of a verb is generally expressed by means of a suffix. But only the independent forms הַמּוֹן (in Ezra), הַמּוֹן (in Daniel) and אֲגַנּוֹן (Dan. 6. 25) are used for 'them'. יָתִי with a suffix occurs once (Dan. 3. 12, לִי, יָתְהַזֵּן, &c., only with participles (Dan. 2. 23, 4. 22, 29, 6. 17, Ezra 5. 2).

Ethic Dative. 5. לִי, &c., are also used as 'ethic datives', especially after verbs of motion. Examples: מִדְרָכָךְ נִפְקָדָה לִיהִי (26. 5), לְהַלֵּךְ (24. ii. 5).

Reflex. Pron. 6*. In PTM the reflexive pronouns are generally expressed by גָּרְמִי, &c., sometimes by נֶפֶשִׁי, &c. (Dalman, p. 115, § 13). In OJ the pronominal suffixes are used, in agreement with the Hebrew text, נֶפֶשִׁי, &c., being occasional alternatives. In PTM emphatic 'he himself' is expressed by פֶּלֶגְמִיה, 'this itself' by פֶּלֶגְמָא דָא = this, § 5). פֶּלֶגְמִיה means, literally, 'my bone' (for its inflexion see § 12, note 4).

OTA. 7. In MT נָא (Baer, Ginsburg) is usual for נָא, but cf. pausal הָם and בָּם (Dan. 3. 17). שִׁזְבִּיחֲנָא occurs only in Ezra, as alternatives to כָּזֵן and הָזֵן. See Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I. 113.

§ 5. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND
ADJECTIVES

	PTM ADJECTIVES.	PTM PRONOUNS.	OJ ADJECTIVES.	OJ PRONOUNS.
this	הַזֶּה, הַזֶּן, הַזֶּן, הַזֶּה	זֶה, זֶן	זֶה	זֶה (בֶּן)
		הָרָא	רָא	רָא
these		הַלְוִין, אֵילִין	אֵילִין, חַלְוִין	אֵילִין

ADJECTIVES AND PRONOUNS.

that	הַחֲיָה (בִּיכִי)	סְרִיב, סְרִיב	חַיִּיבִי
	הַחֲיָה, הַחֲיָה, חַיִּים	סְרִיב	בִּיבִי
those	הַיִּנְ�ָן, אַנְנָן	—	אַלְיָקִים

Forms. 1*. 1*. **הַחֲיָה** and **הַחֲיָה** are the forms of the Babylonian MSS. published by Kahle. **הַחֲיָה** and **הַחֲיָה** in the supralinear Yemenite MSS. are Hebraisms (Dalman). **הַלְוִין** (16. ii. 7) is pointed **הַלְוִין** in Dalman's paradigm (p. 397).

2*. 2*. **אַנְנָן**, **הַיִּנְ�ָן**, **אֵילִין** are the unvocalized spellings of PTM (§ 2. 1).

3. 3. **הַלְוִין**, **הַלְוִין**, and **הַלְוִין** occur as alternatives to **הַזֶּה**, &c. (e.g. 15. 6) and are cited by Dalman (p. 111), but are held by him to be incorrect forms (p. 120).

4. 4. PTM has a number of forms such as **אַחֲרֵי** and **אַחֲרֵי** (28. 24) in which **א** alternates with **ח**. It also frequently uses contracted forms (**דִּינְךָ** **הָא** and **הַגְּזִין** and **גְּזִין**, &c.). **הַיִּנְנָה** coalesce with a following **הָא** into **הַיִּנְנָה** and **הַיִּנְנָה**. **הַיִּנְנָה** and **הַיִּנְנָה** join with **הָא** into **הַיִּנְנָה** (Dalman, p. 112).

OTA. 5. For OTA forms see paradigm (p. 92). **אַפְּנָן** for 'those' (Dan. 2. 44) and **אַלְחָה** for 'these' (Ezra 5. 15) occur each once only. 'that' is both masculine (once) and feminine (twice). In OTA the same forms are used, without distinction, as adjectives and pronouns. See also notes 10 and 14.

Special usages. 6. **הַנּוּ** occurs in PTM as an enclitic particle following interrogative pronouns (Dalman, *Grammar*, pp. 111 and 224). In OJ it is similarly used to translate **זֶה** after **לְפָנֶה** (Gen. 25.22) and also for **זֶה** associated with a numeral (Gen. 27.36, Judg. 16.15). **כֵּרְבָּנָה** is sometimes used by OJ as a translation of Hebrew **בָּה** (Gen. 45.9, Exod. 3.14 f., 5.10, 7.26, Josh. 24.2, Judg. 11.15, 2 Kings 19.20).

7*. **הַיִּכְיָה** is usually equivalent to **הַלְלוּה** (Judg. 6.20, &c.) and seldom occurs otherwise (Gen. 27.33). The pronoun 'that' in OJ is also expressed by **חוֹזֶה** (Gen. 2.19, 41.28, 42.14, Exod. 16.23, Amos 7.6), which might, therefore, properly be included in the table.

Syntax. 8*. OJ generally distinguishes between adjective and pronoun forms. Exceptions are: (a) **הַיִּכְיָה**, (b) **הַיִּזְ** instead of **הַיִּזְנָה**, after a noun with a pronominal suffix attached, under the influence of the Hebrew text (Exod. 10.1, Josh. 2.20, Judg. 6.14), (c) the phrase **בְּהַרְאָה** (**יּוֹמָה הַרְאָה** = **יּוֹמָה הַיִּזְ**) 'to-day' (cf. 'this day'), (d) **בְּהַרְאָה** (Judg. 13.23, 15.7).

9. In PTM generally serves as the pronoun 'that' (16. ii. 11 and 13, 18. ii. 3) and other singular adjective forms are also freely used as pronouns (15.6, 16. ii. 12, 28.24).

On the other hand, pronoun forms are used as adjectives (18. ii. 10 and 11—**הַיִּזְנָה**—**אֲנוֹ**). **אֲלֹין**, in particular, occurs more often than **חַלְיוֹן** as an adjective (16. ii. 10, 17. ii. 8, 20. 21, 24. ii. 1).

10*. In PTM a demonstrative nearly always stands before its associated noun (two exceptions in *Chrest.* 20.12 and 21.15 are both from the same narrative). In OJ the influence of the Hebrew text has established the rule that demonstratives follow the nouns they qualify. Exceptions agree with the order of the Hebrew text (Gen. 2.23, Judg. 16.15, &c.). In OTA a demonstrative adjective generally follows, but may precede, an associated noun (Dan. 2.44).

11. Nouns qualified by a demons. adjective nearly always assume the emphatic form (see § 8, note 3).

Idioms. 12. **הַזֶּן** is used with proper names in the sense of ‘the well-known’ or ‘the previously-mentioned’ (15. ii. 2, 17. ii. 1; similarly 22. ii. 9). **הַחוֹא** is sometimes equivalent to ‘a certain’, e.g. in the phrases **הַחוֹא יוֹמָא**, **הַחוֹא גְּבָרָא**. **הַזֶּן . . . הַזֶּן** (and **זֶה . . . זֶה**) express ‘this . . . that’ or ‘one . . . another’.

13. **זֶה** with suffixes of the third person is sometimes used as a demons. adjective or pronoun, like **אֵתֶה**, &c., in the Mishnah (Dalman, § 17. 8).

14. In OTA before a noun governed by a preposition an anticipative pronominal suffix is used in an emphasizing demonstrative sense (**בָּה וּמְנָא** ‘at that very time’). The noun is then in the emphatic form (§ 8). So in PTM, ‘**אָמַר לִיהְיוֹת בְּבֵן יְחִינָן**’ ‘he said to this same R. Jochanan’ (20. ii. 10).

§ 6. INTERROGATIVES

	PTM	OJ
who?	מי , מְאֹן	מי
what?	מה	מָה
which?	הַיְדִין	אַיְדִין sing. masc.
„	הַיְדָא, אַיְדָא	אַיְדָא fem.
„	הַיְלָן, אַיְלָן	(אַיְלָן) plural com.

Forms. 1*. For the spelling **מְאֹן** see § 2. 1. **אַיְלָן** happens not to occur in OJ. **הַיְדִין**, &c., are the unvocalized spellings of **הַיְדִין**, &c. (§ 2. 1 and 14).

2. In PTM **מְאֹן** contracts into **מְפִי** and **מְפִי** into **מִי**. In OJ **מְאֹן** = **מְלִין** (note 4).

Usages. 3*. The meanings of **מָה** are: what? how? what kind of? and (with adjectives) how! **לְמָה** (**לְמַה**) expresses ‘why?’ and

‘**בַּמָּה**?’ ‘how many?’ Questions introduced by **בַּמָּה** so often expect a negative answer that this interrogative acquires the sense of a negative (§ 7, note 7).

4. In OJ **מְהֻנָּה** or **מְהֻנִּין** renders Hebrew **מְהֻנָּה** (Gen. 27. 20, Judg. 18. 24), but **לְמַהֲרֵה** is used for **לְפֹהָרֵה** (§ 5, note 6).

Syntax. 5. **אִידִין**, &c., are both pronouns and adjectives. Their associated nouns may stand in the emphatic form (*Chrest.* 23. 3 and 4, Isai. 66. 1), but not necessarily.

Interrog. Adverbs. 6. **אֵת** (OJ) and **הַן** (PTM) = ‘where?’, **אֵלֶּא** = ‘whither?’ and **מֵזָה** = ‘whence?’ (Gen. 29. 4) is also written for **אֵת**.

OTA. 7. Only **מַה** and **מַה** occur in OTA. Most editors, including Baer and Ginsburg, point the former **מַה**. In Dan. 3. 33 **מַה** (with an adjective) = how!

§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

Forms. 1*. In OJ and PTM the relative pronoun is **הַ** (uninflected). In OTA and in OJ compounds (**דִּילִי**, &c., note 4) the form is **הַיִ**.

Idioms. 2*. **הַ** without an antecedent means ‘that which’, ‘he who’, ‘those who’, &c. **הַ**, **הַהְוָא**, **הַכְּנוּן**, and **הַ** are also used to express these combinations.

3*. **הַ** before a genitive means ‘the possession of’, ‘those of’, ‘those belonging to’, &c. E.g. **דְּבַתִּיחַ** = ‘the people of my house’. In reports of the opinions of the Rabbis, before the name of a Rabbi, it stands for ‘the opinion of’.

Compounds. 4*. **דִּילִק**, **דִּילִקְךָ**, **דִּילִי**, &c., ‘that which is to me’, ‘that which is to thee’, &c., are the equivalents of the possessive pronouns mine, thine, &c., in OJ (cf. Dan. 2. 20). In PTM **דִּילִי** (**דִּילִי** Barth) or **הַ** may be a phonetic variant of **דִּילִי** (Barth) or = **הַ** + **יְדִי**, ‘the possession of my hand’ (Dalman).

§ 7. THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

5. **לֹא + הַיְהָ + נָסָעַת**, with suffixes, is treated as a substantive, meaning 'property' (16. ii. 2, מִזְלִיחָה).

6. In PTM **הַיְהָ** is a contraction for **הִיא** and **הַיְהָ** occurs as a contraction for **הִיא** (Dalman, p. 98).

Conjunctional uses. **7***. **הַ** is much used as a conjunction, —of time (when), place (where), cause (because), purpose (in order that), and introducing subject and object sentences (= Hebrew **כִּי** 'that'). Joined to prepositions it gives them the force of conjunctions (**מִן** = after, **בֶּן** = until or whilst). **עַד** **הַ** = 'when' and **דְּלִמְאָה** (cf. § 6, note 3) respectively. **לְמַאָה** (**לְמַה**) are compounds with **בִּי** and **לְמַאָה** (**לְמַה**) (§ 6, note 3) respectively. **בְּרִיל** **הַ** is used for 'because' and 'in order that'.

Relative Adverbs. **8***. The relative adverbs—where, whither, and whence—are expressed in PTM by **הַזֵּן**, **הַזֶּה**, and **הַזֶּה** (cf. § 6, note 6) and in OJ generally by **הַזֶּה**, **הַזֶּה**, and **הַזֶּה** (cf. OTA 1. 1, Ezra 6. 1).

§ 8. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (general)

FEMININE.	MASCULINE.	
טָבָא	טָבָב	singular absolute.
טָבָת	טָבָב	construct.
טָבָתָא	טָבָא	emphatic.
טָבָנוּ	טָבִין	plural absolute.
טָבָת	טָבִי	construct.
טָבָתָא	טָבִיא	emphatic.

Emphatic state. **1***. The emphatic ending *ā* has a demonstrative force equivalent to the Hebrew definite article. The corresponding English expression may, however, be indefinite, e.g. when the noun is abstract (16. ii. 4, 21. 15, 24. ii. 6), or a generic word (Dan. 5. 1). Sometimes the emphatic ending has practically the force of a possessive pronoun (20. 5, where **שְׁנָאָה**

= 'our enemies', 24. ii. 12, where 'the stick' means 'his stick' or 'a stick').

2. In PTM and OJ the emphatic state tends to lose its distinctive definite meaning, as in Syriac, but to a much lesser extent (14. ii. 1, 25. ii. 10, 18. ii. 2, 20. 12, 24. ii. 1, 27. 6, 25. ii. 3 and 9; Gen. 2. 10, Exod. 1. 8, 12. 20, Josh. 2. 2, Judg. 9. 36). In PTM emphatic forms (18. 6, 18. ii. 6, 19. ii. 3, 21. ii. 7, 27. 2) as well as absolute forms (16. ii. 6, 17. ii. 1, 29. 1, 25. ii. 3) are associated with the indefinite word **אֶחָד**, one. In OJ the emphatic state seems to be more often used with **אֶחָד** (Gen. 1. 9, 2. 24, 27. 38, 45, 33. 13, 34. 16, 40. 5, Deut. 24. 5, Josh. 3. 12, 13, 17. 17, Judg. 6. 16, 9. 37) than the absolute is (Gen. 1. 5, 11. 1, Deut. 28. 7, Josh. 9. 2). The MS. evidence sometimes varies and the printed texts even have both constructions in the same verse (Gen. 11. 6, Josh. 17. 14). In OJ a singular indefinite object is generally expressed by the emphatic state (Gen. 2. 8, 4. 1, 4. 17, 20. 9, 21. 8, 28. 2, 29. 2, 33. 17, Judg. 6. 26), rarely by the absolute (Judg. 6. 17). Emphatic forms are said to be preferred in pause (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 96, Lev. 2. 13, Deut. 26. 7).

OTA seems always to use the emphatic form in its distinctive sense.

3*. There are a few exceptions to the rule that a noun qualified by a demons. adjective stands in the emphatic form (16. ii. 2). The absolute state is employed when the associated noun is accompanied by a numeral and a demons. adjective (28. 13). In **וּמְנֻאָה הַרְאִי** (Judges, *passim*) the feminine noun may be regarded as masculine in form, and so as in the emphatic state. Cf. **וּמְנֻאָה הַהִיא**, Deut. 10. 10.

4*. An attributive adjective regularly assumes an emphatic form when the noun it qualifies stands in the emphatic state (Gen. 1. 16, 10. 21, 27. 15, 29. 2, Deut. 3. 24, 11. 2; *Chrest.* 23. ii. 4; Dan. 3. 26, 6. 27). Cf. **שְׁמִינִית בָּבֶן** (1 Sam. 12. 22), but **(אֲרִישִׁי טָבֵב)** (24. ii. 13).

Absolute state. 5*. Some words and phrases employ absolute forms in a definite sense (25. ii. 3, 'בֵּית עָלֶם', 'the cemetery'). In PTM foreign words may be used definitely without the addition of an emphatic ending (16.6 ff., 23.4, פְּרִילִי, דִּיבְּרִיטִים). Predicative adjectives are generally put in the absolute state (Dan. 2. 11), even when, in OJ, they translate Hebrew words with a definite article attached (Gen. 2. 11, 42. 6). A predicative adjective in the emphatic state may be considered to be a superlative (15. 8).

Construct and Genitive. 6*. In PTM construct forms, followed by genitives, have only a limited use (17. 13, עַמּוֹדֵי בַּיִתְּךָ). They occur most frequently as the second member of compound prepositions (לְסֹוף, בְּנָו, לְעַלְלִי) and in stereotyped phrases which are almost compound nouns, e.g. בֵּית עָלֶם (28. 22) (25. ii. 3), מַטְמָעִי שְׁמַשָּׁא (22. ii. 5), 'פָּרוּס עֲרָסִי' (29. 15), 'my bed-cover'.

Instead of the genitive construction PTM usually employs phrases like (a) בֵּיתָא דְּחַבְּרִיה, עֻזְפָא דְּשִׁמְנָא, 'the birds of the sky', 'the house of his comrade', or (b) בֵּיתָה דְּאַפְתָה, שְׁמִינָה דְּאַלְהָא (c) 'the name of God', 'the house of her mother', when the expression is definite, and like (c) רַמוֹגִין דִּרְחָבָב, 'pomegranates of gold', when the expression is indefinite. In all these cases ה means 'that of' or 'those of' and governs the following noun in the genitive case (§ 7, note 3). Mixed constructions like חַלְתָּ מְלִיאָן דְּחַכְמָתָא (17. 15) and מְרִי דְּבִיתָא (Chrest. 17. 7, Judg. 19. 22) occur less often.

7*. In OJ the use of a construct, followed by a genitive, is general, although the constructions of note 6 also occur. Examples: (a) Gen. 1. 14, 25, 2. 7, 12, 22. 12, Josh. 1. 8, 13, 2. 2, 4. 16, 5. 1, and frequently; (b) Gen. 30. 20; (c) Gen. 3. 21, Deut. 10. 7—בְּחַלְיָן דְּמִינָן.

8. In OTA the idiom of a construct followed by a genitive prevails—except in one group of cases, where the constructions of note 6 (a) and (c) are preferred. These latter constructions are generally, though not exclusively, used before or after and in com-

bination with standing phrases, such as 'treasure-house', 'house of God', 'book of records'. Examples: **בֵּית גָּנְדִּיא דַּי מִלְּכָה** (Ezra 5.17), 'fingers of a human hand' (Dan. 5.5). Cf. Ezra 4.15, 6.5, 7.12, 7.17, Dan. 2.14, 2.49, 4.26, 5.3. There are comparatively few cases of the use of these constructions as an alternative to a simple construct and genitive (Ezra 5.2, 13, 14, 7.26, Dan. 2.15, 19, 38, 41, 4.12 (= 20), 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 24, 7.4, 6, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10, 28). A considerable proportion of them seem to imply at least a slight emphasis (e.g. Ezra 5.14, 7.26, Dan. 2.38, 5.7 (= 16 and 29), 5.23, 7.4, 7 (= 19), 7.9, 10). 'The den of lions' is both **גֶּבֶא דַּי אֲרִיוֹתָא** (6.8, 13, 25) and **גֶּבֶא דַּי אֲרִיוֹתָא** (6.17, 20).

The construction of note 6 (b) occurs in OTA about a dozen times and the words governed by **דַּי** are then evidently in most cases emphatic (Dan. 2.44, 3.28f., 4.23, 6.25, 27, Ezra 5.11). Renderings such as 'the name of him who is (really) God' and 'the appearance of that fourth' are sometimes appropriate (Dan. 2.20, 3.25, 3.26).

Accusative case. 9*. In PTM the object noun has generally no distinctive mark. **לְ** occasionally introduces definite accusatives (15.11, 16.ii.11, 21.6, 7, 23.8, 27.6) and **תַּ** does so rarely (15.ii.8). In OJ **תַּ** is the regular equivalent of Hebrew **תְּ** and **לְ** seldom occurs (in Gen. 3.17 = **לִמְימָר** = Hebrew **לִקְוָל**; for Gen. 39.15 see § 36, note 11). The old accusative ending **ə** survives in a few adverbs of place (e.g. **תְּחִנְנָה** 'below'). For the accusative pronoun anticipating an object noun see § 36, note 11.

10. In OTA **לְ** is not infrequently associated with a definite accusative. Possibly it has a slight demonstrative or emphasizing effect.¹

¹ It is prefixed to expressions for the true God (Dan. 2.19, 4.31, 34, 5.23) and the false gods (3.18, 5.4, 23; cf. 2.34), to words and phrases denoting the rulers (3.2, 6.2) and wise men of Babylon (2.12, 14, 24; 5.7), to the

Inflectional endings. 11*. The feminine singular ending נָא is attached especially to stems that end in *ān*, hence רִקְנִיא (Gen. 1. 2) and פָלְנִיא. Feminine plural endings *āwān* and *wān* are used by some nouns. Examples: (a) חַלְנוֹ, דִירְנוֹ, בִּרְנוֹ, לִילְנוֹ—from אֶתְחָת—(b) מַאוֹן = מַאוֹן, אַבְהָן, שִׁמְחוֹן = סָנוֹן. See also § 10, note 21, and § 30, note 2.

12*. The plurals of אָבָם, אָבָהָן, שָׁוֹם, אָבָהָן, and שִׁמְחוֹן, respectively.

13*. The termination ' is sometimes used when a noun is in the absolute or in the emphatic state. Examples: יִמְמֵי (Gen. 1. 10), חַי (Gen. 2. 7) (Gen. 18. 7). Such forms are specially frequent in the case of gentilic names like כּוֹתְאֵי (*Chrest.* 24. ii. 1), מִצְרָאֵי (Exod. 12. 30), כּוֹשְׁךְאֵי (Josh. 1. 4), and חַפְתָּאֵי (Dan. 2. 5). Dalman compares, also, Γεθσημανῆ = בַת שְׁמַנֵּי = 'garden of oils'.

14. Words like בְּנַתִּין (Num. 32. 4), from בְּנֵר, village, and (16. ii. 14) are examples of double plurals. For *ān* as a plural ending see Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, vol. i, p. 450 f.

Duals. 15*. The only clear duals in PTM and OJ are תְּבִרְן, (two'), and מְאַתְּנֵן ('*two*'), and (200). But the ending נָן in words such as עִינֵן may also be a dual ending (OTA). In OTA (besides שְׁפֵן) occur קְרֵבֵן, יְדֵן, בְּגַלְןֵן, and מְאַתֵּן (מְאַתְּנֵן).

§ 9*. CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS (declensions)

The following classification is made with a view to a statement of the rules for nominal inflexion, as given in the next paragraph. Six classes, or declensions, are distinguished.

names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (2. 49, 3. 13, 22, 30; cf. 3. 27 and 3. 28) and to the name Daniel, when standing as an object by itself (2. 19, 4. 31, 34, 5. 23; cf. 2. 13 and 18). Almost the only other cases of *ל* introducing a definite object, in Daniel, are found in 5. 2, 22 and 23. In Ezra very few examples altogether occur (4. 14, 5. 12, 6. 7, 7. 25). In Ezra 6. 7 may be regarded as a textual error.

A nouns. Nouns originally disyllabic and having two short vowels are very slightly distinguished in Aramaic from nouns originally monosyllabic and ending in two consonants. The two groups are here joined in the A class of nouns, which is further subdivided into three sub-classes according as the characteristic vowel (used in the inflected forms) is *ă*, *ĭ*, or *ă* (OTA *ă*). The absolute forms, of which specimens follow, do not clearly indicate the sub-class to which an A noun belongs.

ă class.	ĭ class.	ă class.	
	כְּתָב	רְהָב	originally disyllabic.
	נְדָר	נְפָשָׁה	originally monosyllabic.
קְשׁוֹת	רְחִישָׁה	לְחִים	
בּוֹקֶם	עִיגָּל	עֲבָד	
		תְּבוֹן	

In the *ă* class absolute forms like רְנֵה (Deut. 9. 20, Dan. 3. 13), בְּטַל (Exod. 30. 23), and בְּטַל (Dan. 5. 5) sometimes occur. In Dan. 5. 5 the supralinear MSS. give בְּטַל for the בְּטַל of MT.

Words of the *ă* class like לְחִים, בְּעֵיל, חִקְּלָה, מֶלֶיךְ, טְעִים, בְּעֵיל, and עֲבָד, לְחִים, צְלָם, טְעִם, צְלָם, and עֲבָד, with לְחִים in Dan. 2. 49, 6. 21).

Some words have more than one absolute form (חִקְּלָה, מֶלֶיךְ, &c.). In OTA the uses of טְעִם and צְלָם, טְעִים and צְלָם are perhaps differentiated by MT (Strack, § 8 c.).

יְרֻבָּה (Num. 5. 22) and יְתֻמָּה (Exod. 22. 21, Deut. 27. 19) are unusual forms, perhaps at first only orthographically different from יְרֻבָּה and יְתֻמָּה (§ 2, notes 8 and 9). The former belongs to the *ĭ* sub-class and the latter to the *ă* sub-class.

B nouns. Disyllabic nouns having *ă* in the final syllable and an unchangeable long vowel, or a shut syllable, in the penult, together with all participles (whose final vowel is sere or pathah) follow

a distinct rule of inflexion (see § 10). Examples: עַלְםָ אִרְבֶּעָ אַפְּרֵץ : סָרֵד, נָד, דָם, שָׁרֵךְ. A small number of monosyllables including בָּר (son), and שָׁוֹם (OTA נְשָׁם) belong to this B class and not to the C class.

C nouns. Monosyllables from stems $\text{y}''\text{y}$ have absolute forms like עַמָּה, עַמְּם, and בְּלָי, in which the vowels ē and ō are frequently represented by .. and i respectively (e.g. פָּום, שִׁית). Dalman gives עַיְרָה (arrow) and עַבְּבָה (pit) as variant forms in the second and third classes.

Some words which are not from $\text{y}''\text{y}$ stems follow the inflexion of this class (e.g. פָּום, עַיְ). In OTA the MSS. of MT read פָּם (mouth), but the supralinear MSS. have פָּם, in accordance with the analogy of דָבָר, פָּזָב, &c.

D nouns. Words which remain unchanged when terminations are added to the stem are principally disyllables with a long vowel in the final syllable (e.g. עֲוֵיד, גְּבָר, שְׁלָמִים, אֲנָשִׁים), and monosyllables like טָוָר, יָוָם, חָוָר, וָיָם, חָיָן. The unchangeable ā in the first group is equivalent to Hebrew ō (שְׁלָמוֹם, &c.).

E nouns. It is convenient to make nouns from stems final yodh or final waw a separate group. Words like טָלֵי are chiefly substantives and those like סְגִינִי (OTA שְׁנָגָא) are participle forms (see § 30). Probably the orthography חִיזָׁק (Gen. 12. 11) is equivalent to חִזָּק (§ 2. 8).

F nouns. In this class are included all nouns with the terminations āi (= Hebrew ī) or ē added to a triliteral stem. Examples: פְּתָמִי, רְבִיעִי, קְרָמָי (or קְרָמִי). The long vowel of OTA (פְּשָׁׁקִי, רְבִיעִי, קְרָמִי) is also the pausal form of OJ (Gen. 1. 13, 19).

§ 10. INFLEXION OF NOUNS (masculine types)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.		
<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emph.</i>	<i>Constr.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>
מלךִיא	מלךִי	מלךִין	מלךָא	מלךָה	מלךָ A
בעלִיא	בעלִי	בעלִין	בעלָא	בעלָה	בעלָה
נְרַרִיא	נְרַרִי	נְרַרִין	נְרַרָא	נְרַרָה	נְרַרָה
נְהַרִיא	נְהַרִי	נְהַרִין	נְהַרָא	נְהַרָה	נְהַרָה
לְבָבִיא	לְבָבִי	לְבָבִין	לְבָבָא	לְבָבָה	לְבָבָה
עַלְמִיא	עַלְמִי	עַלְמִין	עַלְמָא	עַלְמָה	עַלְמָה B
יְדִיא	יְדִי	יְדִין	יְדָא	יְדָה	יְדָה
עַזִיא	עַזִי	עַזִין	עַזָא	עַזָה	עַזָה C
גְּבָרִיא	גְּבָרִי	גְּבָרִין	גְּבָרָא	גְּבָרָה	גְּבָרָה D
טְלִיא	טְלִי	טְלִין	טְלִיא	טְלִי	טְלִי E
סְנִיא	סְנִי	סְנִין	סְנִיא	סְנִי	סְנִי
חִיזִיא	חִיזִי	חִיזִין	חִיזָא	חִיזָה	חִיזָה
עֲבָרִיא		עֲבָרִין	עֲבָרִיא		עֲבָרִי F
עֲבָרִאי		עֲבָרָין	עֲבָרָא		
פּוֹרְסִי	פּוֹרְסִי	פּוֹרְסִין	פּוֹרְסִיא	פּוֹרְסִות	פּוֹרְסִותָא

¹ The accent in these plurals was probably placed on the *ā* and the ending may be pronounced as *ain*.

A nouns. 1*. Nouns of the A type retain or assume a monosyllabic form before inflectional endings. The usual vowels of these monosyllables are *ă*, *î*, and *ă* (OTA *ð*). The mutation of the third radical of inflected forms in OTA—when the third radical is susceptible of mutation—shows that the preceding shewa is vocal (*a*) in the plural of nouns originally monosyllabic (מִלְלִין), (*b*) in the singular and plural of nouns originally disyllabic (דִּינְבֵּין, לִבְבָּא). All the examples of the table above are treated according to this rule, although the Yemenite MSS. with supralinear punctuation do not indicate vocal shewa, except after a medial guttural, and even then not consistently (e.g. נַחֲרָא, Gen. 2. 13, but נַחֲרָא, Josh. 1. 4).

2. Under the influence of medial *p*, *b*, and *m* (labials) *ă* is often substituted for *ă* and *î* in the monosyllabic stems of the first and second sub-classes, especially in PTM. Examples: רַמְשָׁא, גַּבְרָא, נַפְנָא, רַבְשָׁא. The absolute form פֶּטֶן, for פֶּטֶן, may be regarded as a secondary formation from the inflected stem *gufn*. In OTA the plural forms of גַּבְרִין are always גַּבְרִין, &c.

3. The vowel *î* is also frequently substituted for an original *ă*. Examples: בְּשָׂרָא, שְׁמָרָא, מְטָרָא, דְּבָרָא, בְּסָרָא, זְמָנָא, בְּשָׂרָא, שְׁמָרָא, מְטָרָא, דְּבָרָא, בְּסָרָא, נְשָׁרִין, דְּבָחִין, שְׁמָשִׁין. The absolute form קִיבְּח (Exod. 12. 27) may be a secondary formation like פֶּטֶן. The stem vowel of the inflected forms of רְגֻלָּה is *î* in the supralinear MSS. of OTA and according to the Babylonian tradition (Kahle; cf. Chrest. 15. 9). The MT of Daniel and the Yemenite MSS. of OJ give *ă* (Josh. 5. 15, 14. 9).

4. In the *î* sub-class, nouns whose initial radical is a guttural generally retain hireq in the inflected forms. חַלְמָא from חֲלֹם (dream), in the MT of Daniel and in some OJ MSS., may be due to Hebrew influence (cf. עַלְיִ, &c.). Hireq and seghol also interchange in the OTA group גַּשְׁמָה, גַּשְׁמָה, גַּשְׁמָה.

5. In the *ă* sub-class, when holem occurs as the vowel of the inflected stem it may be understood to represent *ð* (§ 2. 1). Examples: אַזְרָחָא Gen. 38. 16, קָוְבָעִין Exod. 28. 40, עַזְרָבָא Lev.

11. 15 (Dalman, p. 144). According to the punctuation of MT there are three examples of *ă*-stems in OTA (Dan. 2. 37, 4. 12, 6. 20) and one of an *ă*-stem (בְּחִלְיָא Ezra 5. 8). Similarly the feminine חַכְמָא is written in MT and in some late MSS. of OJ. In Dan. 4. 34 and 5. 23 the supralinear punctuation is אֲרַחַת, and the MSS. of MT are divided between that and אֲרַחַה or אֲרַחַת. In OJ inflected forms like טַעַנֵּי (Josh. 2. 6) for sometimes occur.

6*. In the supralinear MSS. of OJ nouns like בֵּית and עַיִן, in the construct singular and in the inflected stems, nearly always have forms like בֵּית (Dalman, p. 91, note 1). In MT construct singulars are like עַיִן and inflected stems like עַיִינִי, although the supralinear MSS. often substitute ē for *ai*, especially when pronominal suffixes are joined to the stem (see Strack's note on Dan. 4. 1). בְּתִין is the plural of בֵּית. בֵּיל is used as an absolute form (Exod. 32. 12).

B nouns. 7*. The final stem vowel of nouns of the B class becomes vocal shewa when terminations are added to the stem. For some apparent exceptions see § 21, note 6.

C nouns. 8*. In nouns of the C class the final radical is doubled before inflectional endings and the stem vowel is normally *ă* or *î* or *ă*, according to the vowel of the uninflected stem (עַמְּפָן, אַפְּנָא, גַּבְּאָה). Before final resh the stem vowel is lengthened in compensation, when doubling does not take place (hence בְּרָא from בָּרָא (country)). Some nouns put *î* for *ă* in the inflected forms (תַּחַת, פְּתַח). In OTA נַשְׁמָא, from נִשְׁמָה, is unique (Dan. 7. 11); in OJ נַשְׁמָא (fem. absolute) is also used.

9*. In OJ, although the stem vowel of the word כָּל with pronominal suffixes (§ 12, note 6) is always *ă*, the emphatic form is regularly כֹּלָא (Josh. 11. 19), pointed in Berliner's *Onkelos* sometimes with daghesh (Exod. 29. 24, Lev. 8. 27) and sometimes without (Gen. 6. 19, 20, 16. 12, Lev. 1. 9). In Lev. 8. 27 Berliner prints כֹּלָא. In OTA the MSS. of MT always have כָּלָא (five

times), and the supralinear MSS. agree (Dan. 4. 25). Holem in this and similar words denotes a short vowel (§ 2. 1). The reading נָמָן (= חֲמָן) in Gen. 8. 22 (Dalman, p. 145) is an alternative to נָמָן (cf. Berliner).

10*. In the later Yemenite MSS. of OJ Hebrew בְּלַי is represented by בְּלֵי and Hebrew בֶּל by בְּלִי. In Gen. 1-2 (Merx), Josh. 1-2, and Judg. 1-2 (Praetorius) the only exceptions to this rule are in Gen. 1. 30 and Judg. 2. 15. In OTA, MT has both בְּלַי and בְּלִי, generally the former. Strack's supralinear MSS. (except G, once) either insert no vowel or read בְּלִי.

11. Plurals of the form עַמְּמִין occur in OJ, PTM, and OTA (cf. § 35, note 4).

12. Erroneous dissimilation of the doubled consonant of the stem takes place in בְּנָנִין (Exod. 32. 19), from בְּנָג (cf. § 26, note 9). The form אֲנָנִין (Dan. 2. 46) is also a dissimilated form.

D nouns. **13***. In this class the absolute form and the inflected stem are identical. The inflected forms of the word שָׁלִים (Gen. 6. 9) seem, however, to be taken from a stem of the A class (שָׁלְמִין, &c.).

E nouns. **14***. When a termination is added to words of the E class the stem of words like טָלֵי is either like טָלֵי or an A stem, with yodh as the third radical, and the inflected stem of words like סָנִי is either like סָנִי or a B stem (see particulars in table above). In forms like סָנִיא and מָשְׁתִּיא, from מָשְׁתִּי, the shewa following the middle radical is vocal (§ 30, note 3). In טָלִיא it may be treated as silent, on the analogy of the originally monosyllabic A stems.

15*. טָלִין is contracted from סָנִין and טָלִין from סָנִין. Adjectives of the form טָלִי have contracted plurals of the form מְלִין (Deut. 6. 11). The only case of such an adjective in OTA has an uncontracted plural (שָׁרִין, Dan. 3. 25).

16. פְּרִין (Hebrew פְּרִי) is used in the plural only. For plurals in

āwān see note 21. Dalman (p. 192) regards the supralinear punctuation of absolute plurals like פְּלִיּוֹן as incorrect.

17*. When E nouns employ an A stem (as in טַלְיָא) the vowel of the stem is usually *ă*, but sometimes *î* or *ü* (OTA *ö*). Examples: פְתִי from רְחִיאָה, רְתִי מִן חִזְקִיאָה. The supralinear pathah of in OJ may be interpreted as seghol, in agreement with OTA חִזְקִיאָה (§ 2. 6).

18. Forms like חִזְקִיאָה, חִזְקִיָּה, with consonantal waw, are unusual. Most nouns ending in *ı* are feminine (בָּעֵד, בָּרְבִּי) and are inflected according to the rules of § 11.

F nouns. 19*. In the inflected forms of *ai* stems the yodh of the termination is consonantal and the preceding vowel (in OJ) is lengthened. Instead of yodh, aleph is often written (cp. § 23, note 9). The emphatic plural termination is contracted from *aiya* to *ē* ('.. or א..). The inflected forms of stems terminating in *ē* (פִּמְנִי, בִּירְכִּי) are treated like those of (E class).

EF nouns. 20. A few words from stems with final yodh are treated like nouns of the F class in OJ (Dalman, p. 156 ε) and OTA (עֲנָנִי, Dan. 4. 24, from עֲנָנָה). See also § 12, note 8.

21*. Some words of the E and F classes have plurals in *āwān* or *ewān*, with or without retention of consonantal yodh. Examples: אֲסָנוֹן, בְּרָעָנוֹן, אֲרָנוֹן (cf. § 8, note 11 and § 30, note 2).

OTA. 22. The general rules for the inflexion of nouns given in this section apply to OTA. As the E class is very slightly represented there it may be passed over by those who begin their Aramaic reading in OTA. For these the most important notes in this section are 1, 7, 8, 13, and 19, along with 3, 6, and 9 for some details.

§ 11.* INFLEXION OF NOUNS (with feminine endings)

PLURAL.			SINGULAR.		
<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>	<i>Emphat.</i>	<i>Const.</i>	<i>Absol.</i>
מִלְכָתָא	מִלְכָת	מִלְכָוִי	מִלְכָתָא	מִלְכָת	מִלְכָא A
בְּנֵשֶׁתָּא	בְּנֵשֶׁת	בְּנֵשֶׁן	בְּנֵשֶׁתָּא	בְּנֵשֶׁת	בְּנֵשָׁא
אַמְרָתָא	אַמְרָת	אַמְרָוִן	אַמְרָתָא	אַמְרָת	אַמְרָא B
מְלִיאָא	מְלִיאָ	מְלִיאָוִן	מְלִיחָא	מְלִיחָ	מְלִיאָ C
מִינְרָא	מִינְרָת	מִינְרָוִן	מִינְרָתָא	מִינְרָת	מִינְרָא D
חִוְיתָא	חִוְיתָ	חִוְיתָוִן	חִוְיתָא	חִוְיתָ	חִוְיאָ
טְלִיחָא	טְלִיחָ	טְלִיחָוִן	זֹ טְלִיחָתָא PTM	טְלִיחָתָא	טְלִיאָ E
סְנִיתָא	סְנִיתָ	סְנִיטָוִן	סְנִיתָא	סְנִיתָ	סְנִיאָ
גְּלִוחָא	גְּלִוחָ	גְּלִוחָוִן	גְּלִוחָתָא	גְּלִוחָתָ	גְּלוֹ
צְלִוחָא	צְלִוחָ	צְלִוחָוִן	צְלִוחָתָא	צְלִוחָתָ	צְלוֹ
מְנִיחָא	מְנִיחָ	מְנִיחָוִן	מְנִיחָתָא	מְנִיחָתָ	מְנִיחָ
עֲבָרִיתָא	—	עֲבָרִיוֹן	עֲבָרִיתָא	—	עֲבָרִיאָ F
וְרָעִיתָא	וְרָעִיתָ	וְרָעִינוֹן	וְרָעִיתָא	וְרָעִיתָ	וְרָעִיָּ G
מְלִיכָותָא	מְלִיכָותָ	מְלִיכָהוֹן	מְלִיכָותָא	מְלִיכָותָ	מְלִיכָוִי

Aramaic of OJ and PTM

1. The stem syllables of nouns to which the feminine ending *ā* is attached are treated in accordance with the rules of § 10. There are, therefore, six classes of feminine nouns corresponding to the classes of § 9. In the E class nouns having final consonantal waw are numerous and several types of absolute singular are in use (see

Table). Abstract feminine nouns having an ending in *i* or *u* are treated as a separate class (G). The rules of § 10 sufficiently explain the forms of classes A–D and F, except those of the emphatic singular, which, therefore, receive special notice in what follows.

A nouns. 2. The emphatic singular ending of the A class is usually **תָּא**, joined to the monosyllabic stem. Examples: **מִלְבְּתָא**, **גַּשְׁמָתָא**, **בִּרְכָּתָא**. **תָּא** is added to the stem **קָטָל** in the case of some nouns having stems originally disyllabic (parallel to Hebrew words like **צְדָקָה**). Examples (from Dalman): **אֲזֹחַתָּא**, **אֲזֹרְמָתָא**, **צְדָקָתָא**, **נְרֵבָתָא**, **כְּנֶשֶׁתָּא** (absolute **כְּנֶשֶׁתָּא**, **חַבְרָתָא**). Berliner's *Onkelos* gives **עֲלֵלָתָא** (*Deut. 21. 4, 6*) for 'calf' (from **עִזְלָא**), as well as for 'wagon' (*Num. 7. 3*, from **עִזְלָא**). The emphatic sing. fem. of **תָּרָדֶשׂ** (= **תָּרָדֶת**) is **תָּרָדְפָּתָא**.

The absolute singular feminine of a stem originally disyllabic is distinguished in OTA from a stem originally monosyllabic by the vocal shewa following the middle radical (**בְּרֵבָה**, *Dan. 2. 9*), and this analogy may be followed in reading OJ and PTM (cf. § 10, note 1). In all feminine plurals of the A class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal (§ 10, note 1).

B nouns. 3. In this class the emphatic ending is **תָּא** and is joined to the absolute stem of § 9—**יִתְּרִיבָתָא**, **יִלְּיָדָתָא**, **אַפְּרִיכָתָא**—see under D nouns, below). But the emphatic form of **בָּרָא** 'daughter', is **בָּרְכָתָא**, and that of **שָׁנָה** 'year', is **שָׁנְתָא**.

C nouns. 4. In the C class **תָּא** is joined to the stem used by all the inflected forms. **מָלָא**, like many feminine nouns, has plurals of the masculine form. **שִׁינָא** 'sleep', although not from an *y/y* stem, is inflected like words of this group (**שִׁינְתָא**, &c.).

D nouns. 5. With unchangeable stems the emphatic ending, according to the supralinear punctuation, is usually **תָּא**, **דָּרְתָא** (*Dartha*). **תָּא** is used only with a few disyllabic stems whose final vowel is *e* or *u*, **שְׁבִיעָתָא**, **שְׁבִיעָתָא**, **עֲבִירָתָא**, **בִּיעָתָא**, **שְׁעָתָא**, **גְּנוּבָתָא**, **שְׁפִילָתָא** (*Sphilta*). **מְהוּלָתָא** and **יִתְּרִיבָתָא** belong rather to the B class.

Certain nouns, which might be expected to belong to the A class, have forms of the D type (בְּנִישָׁתָא, שְׁאַיְלָתָא; בְּנִישָׁא, שְׁאַיְלָה; נְבִילָה, נְבִילָתָא, נְבִילָתָה), although not exclusively (cf. נְבִלָת, Lev. 5. 2, and לְבִנֵין, Exod. 5. 7). All have close parallels in Hebrew.

E nouns. 6. There is considerable variety in the inflected forms of feminine nouns of this declension. In the טְלִיא group yodh is always consonantal in OJ and the stem resembles that of the A declension. In PTM quiescence of the yodh takes place in the emphatic sing. (see Table). In the סְגִי group, both in OJ and PTM, yodh quiesces in the construct and emphatic of the singular.

A few nouns have consonantal waw in the singular. Examples: קְרֵינָא (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרֵינָא or קְרֵינָא (Gen. 14. 17) (Gen. 4. 5) and קְרֵינָא or קְרֵינָא (Gen. 14. 17). A larger number have consonantal waw in the plural only. For the various forms of the absolute singular and for their inflexions see table of nouns above. Other examples of the group are טְבִיבִי, קְצִחְתִּי, רְבִיבִי, זְבוּבִי. The rare absolute sing. of the word used in OJ for Hebrew עֲלָה seems to be עַלְאָה (Isai. 40. 16). The construct is עֲלָתָה (Lev. 9. 17, Merx), the emphatic עֲלָתָה (Josh. 22. 23, Judg. 6. 26) and the plural עֲלָתָן (Mic. 6. 6, Merx). Berliner's עֲלָתָה &c. are erroneous. Cf. Syriac and OTA (note 11).

In all feminine plurals of the E class the shewa following the middle radical may be treated as vocal, according to the analogy of § 10, note 1.

F nouns. 7. After the diphthong *ai* the emphatic termination is אַתָּה, with mutated תָּה, but without vocal shewa preceding. Usually the vowel before אַתָּה is ε. Supralinear plurals like עֲבֹרִיתָה Dalman (p. 79) treats as erroneous.

אַתָּה (= Hebrew עֲתָן) generally, and perhaps always, used in the plural (עֲתָן, &c.), is a feminine noun similar to the OTA masculine forms עֲתָן and עֲתָנִי (§ 10, note 20).

G nouns. 8. The vowel terminations of the singular are replaced by consonantal yodh or waw in the plural (see Table). The mutation of the third radical in the plural is a peculiar feature.

Old Testament Aramaic

A, B, and C nouns. 9. The inflexion of feminine nouns in OTA is the same as in OJ, except in the emphatic singular of nouns of the D class.

There is only one OTA example of the ending נָתַת in the A class, viz. יְבִשְׁתָּתָא (Dan. 2. 10). It appears in the supralinear punctuation of OJ as נָתְתָא (Gen. 1. 9) or נָתְתָא (§ 2. 6). Emphatic singulars of the B and C classes are אֲנָתָתָא (Ezra 4. 11), וְבִרְתָּתָא (Dan. 4. 27), and מְלִכְתָּתָא (Dan. 2. 8).

D nouns. 10. In MT all words having unchangeable disyllabic stems receive תְּתָא as their emphatic singular ending (עֲבִירְתָּא, מְרִידְתָּא, בְּיִקְרְתָּא, שְׁאַלְתָּא, &c.). The two words having unchangeable monosyllabic stems, חִוְתָּא (Dan. 4. 11) and בִּירְתָּא (Ezra 6. 2), both receive the emphatic ending נָתַת (for the reading בִּירְתָּא see Ginsburg and Strack). MT שְׁעַתָּא (Dan. 3. 6, &c.), although supported by some supralinear MSS., should be corrected into נָעַתָּא and included in the D class.

E nouns. 11. There are very few inflected forms of the E class in OTA. קְרִיתָתָא (Ezra 4. 12) and עָרִותָתָא (Ezra 4. 14) belong to the פְּלִיאָ group, שְׁנִינָה (Dan. 7. 3) to the סְגִיאָ group, and עַלְלוֹן (Ezra 6. 9) to the מְתָהָ group. בְּנָתָתָא, from בְּנָתָה, occurs several times with pronominal suffixes. גְּלִוָתָא (Dan. 2. 25), from גְּלִוָה, is also a noun of this declension.

F nouns. 12. Before the emphatic singular ending, instead of *ai*, as in קְרִימִיתָא (Dan. 7. 4), רְבִישִׁיתָא (Dan. 7. 19), some MSS. read *ai* (cf. note 7). Shewa after *ai* is silent (note 7) in spite of metheg (קְרִימִיתָא). עַיְיָ (see note 7) occurs once in the plural with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 4. 24).

G nouns. 13. מְשֻׁרְקִיתָא (Dan. 3. 5) is an inflected form of the *i* group and מְלִכְתָּא (Dan. 2. 44) an example of the *u* group.

¹ If reckoned a participle, this word comes under the rule of the B class.

§ 12. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with singular nouns)

1*. For the usual forms of the suffixes in OJ and PTM see § 4 and for those of OTA see paradigm, p. 93.

2*. אֲבָה, אַחֲרֵי, and חֶם with pronominal suffixes are treated as follows:

אֲחִירָה	אֲחִירֵי	אֲחִירִים	אֲחִירֶךָ	אֲחִירֶיךָ
		אֲחִירֶךָ		
אֲחִירָה	אֲחִירֵי	אֲחִירִים	אֲחִירֶךָ	OJ אֲחִירָה
				PTM אֲחִירֶךָ

The suffixes יְהִי, אָנָה, נָנָה, and קְיֻמִי are all unaccented. Regarding the first three see further § 13, note 2. קְיֻמִי is said to have been preferred by the school of Sura and קְיֻמָה (2 s. f.) by the school of Nehardea (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 62 f.). The former is given by Merx (Gen. 24. 23) and in Berliner's *Onkelos* (Gen. 20. 16, 38. 11), the latter in Praetorius (Judg. 14. 15, Josh. 2. 18) and Lagarde (2 Sam. 6. 21, 13. 17).

3. For אָבִי OJ uses אָבָה (Gen. 44. 32, Judg. 14. 16, 1 Kings 2. 32, cf. Rom. 8. 15, ἀββᾶ). אָבָה 'my mother' is a similar form (Judg. 14. 16). Dalman explains the ending as originally ā, from an older ai, and so as really the pronominal suffix for 'my'. In Dan. 5. 13 אָבִי (MT) may originally have meant אָבִי (§ 2. 7), which is the reading of the supralinear MSS. אָבִיהִי is sometimes contracted into אָבִוי (*Chrest.* 18. 12).

A nouns. 4*. The stems of masculine nouns with pronominal suffixes attached are generally formed according to the rules of § 10, with some slight modifications.

In the A class the distinction between לְבָבָא and מְלֵפָא is paralleled by the distinction between לְבָבֵי and מְלֵפֵי. Before heavy suffixes, words ending in a guttural or resh commonly use a stem of the קְפָל type. E.g. אֲרֹעָהָן (Josh. 10. 42), בְּסִרְכֹּן (Judg. 8. 7), but also בְּסִרְכֹּן (Judg. 9. 2).

The statement of § 10, note 6, applies also to stems with suffixes attached (hence OJ, בִּתְהָה, OTA). In Dan. 4. 1 the MSS. are divided between בִּתְהָה and בִּתְהָה. For לִית with suffixes see § 15, notes 2 and 3.

B nouns. 5*. In the B class the stem vowel of the final syllable is retained before heavy suffixes and becomes vocal shewa before light suffixes. Examples: יְדָהֹן, יְדִי, מֵיְמָרְהֹן, מֵיְמָרִי (OTA).

C nouns. 6*. The supralinear orthography represented by פּוֹלִיָּה is normal, although the vowel *u* is short (§ 2. 1). In OTA all with suffixes has *o* as its stem vowel (Dan. 2. 38, 7. 19), while all other words of this class have *u*.

E nouns. 7*. In the E class words like טַלְיִי use their emphatic stem before all suffixes. In the *u* sub-class the later Yemenite MSS. sometimes make the vowel of the inflected stem *o*, as in MT (Dan. 4. 9). Examples: חַלְיִי, טַלְיָהֹן, טַלְיִי (Judg. 9. 11), עֲפִינָה (Dan. 4. 9). Participle forms like סַנִּי and nouns like מְשֻׁתִּי and either employ their emphatic stem (ברִיךְ) or, more generally, are treated as plural nouns are (§ 13, note 7). For participles see further § 30, note 4.

F nouns. 8. Words from stems final yodh that belong to the F class (§ 10, note 20) like דַּי (OJ) and דַּי (OTA), have suffixed forms like דְּנִי (Gen. 35. 18, Dalman) and פְּתִיה (Dan. 3. 1). Nouns like בִּירְכִּי with suffixes are treated as plural nouns (§ 13, note 7).

Feminine stems. 9*. Feminine nouns to which pronominal suffixes are attached may be arranged in three divisions, according as the termination of the emphatic singular is נָהָה, תָּהָה, or תָּהָה.

(1) Nouns that use the ending נָהָה join suffixes to the emphatic stem (אַדְקָתְבָנוּ, אַמְרָתִי).

(2) In the case of nouns whose emphatic ending is תָּהָה, light suffixes are united to the emphatic stem and heavy suffixes to the construct stem (מְלַחְחוֹן, מְלַחְתִּי; מְלַבְּחָהָן, מְלַבְּתִּי; פְּלִינְתָּהָן, פְּלִינְתִּי; עֲבִידְתָּהָן, עֲבִידְתִּי).

(3) Nouns of the E, F, and G classes, whose emphatic ending is **תָּא**, add suffixes to the emphatic or construct stems, which are the same (מְלֹאתָה, מְנֻתָּה, גְּלֹותָה). For examples of F nouns see § 29, note 9.

10. שְׁתִּים (Dan. 6. 19) may be regarded as a noun of the C class, rather than as derived from an absolute form שְׁנָא (cf. § 11, note 4).

Feminine suffixes. **11.** The supralinear MSS. of OJ generally write the suffixes of the 2 plur. masc. and of the 3 plur. masc. instead of the corresponding feminine forms (Dalman). The same substitution is often made in PTM.

§ 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with masc. plur. stems).

PLURAL SUFFIXES.		SINGULAR SUFFIXES.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
...ין	...נא	...י, אֵי	...י com.
...יכוֹן	...יכוֹן	...יך, אֶיךָ	...יך 2 masc.
...יבוֹן	...יבוֹן	...יבַּי, אֶיבַּי	...יבַּי fem.
...יחוֹן	...יחוֹן	...וְהַי, וְהַיָּה	...וְהַי 3 masc.
...יהוֹן	...יהוֹן	...וְהַא, וְהַיָּה, וְהַיָּהָה	...וְהַא fem.

Suffix forms. **1***. יְבִי, אֵי, and are simply orthographical variants for 'יְבִי, אֵי, and יְבִי'. For 'יְהָא' and יְבִי see § 2. 14. אֵי is an alternative in OJ for 'יְ' (see § 29, note 8).

2*. The 'connective vowel' of these pronominal suffixes was originally the plural ending *ai*, which in a majority of cases has become ē or ā or ā. The connective ī of וְהַי is explained either as a nominative plural ending = *au* (Barth) or as a dissimilation from *ai* (Dalman). The terminations הָא, כְּי, and were originally used with singular as well as with plural stems (§ 4, note 2, § 12, note 2). The contracted forms of 3 sing. masc. and 3 sing. fem. are charac-

teristic of PTM. **בָּ** is a reduplicated ending found also in Syriac. The suffix **לְ** is used by PTM in **רַبְנֵן** 'our teachers'.

3. In OTA the Kethibh implies the earlier pronunciations **קָ-**, **מָ-**, and **נָ-**, which the Qere alters into **קִ-**, **מִ-**, and **נִ-** respectively. See paradigm, p. 93.

4*. It may be observed that several of the *ai* suffixes attached to plural stems are identical with the suffix forms attached to singular nouns (**קָ-**, **מָ-**, **נָ-**). Unvocalized **יה** in PTM, when joined to a masc. plural stem means 'her', and to a singular stem 'his'.

Plural stems. **5***. Most of the plural stems of § 10 are also used when pronominal suffixes are joined to plurals (e.g. **מִלְכָנָא**, **גָּבְרָי**, **יָדָי**). Only the **טָלִי** group of E nouns employs with suffixes as its plural stem a stem identical with that of the emphatic singular (**טָלִיְהוֹן**, **טָלִי**). In other E nouns *ai* suffixes are joined directly to the ordinary plural stem (**מִשְׁרִיחָוֹן**, **רָעִיחָוֹן**, **סְנִי**). In Dan. 2.32 this treatment is extended to the form **חֲרוֹתִי**, although presumably its uninflected singular is **חֲרִי**, as in OJ.

6. For 'they two' OJ always uses **פִּרְיוֹהָן** (Gen. 2.25), instead of **פִּרְיוֹהָן**, and PTM sometimes has the same form (cf. § 8, note 15).

Singular stems like plurals. **7***. The direct combination of pronominal suffixes with the singular ending *e* of certain nouns of the E class, like **מִשְׁרִי** and **מִשְׁתִּי**, produces a set of *ai* suffixes, which are precisely the same as those attached to plural stems. This makes the singular and plural forms of such nouns frequently indistinguishable (**מִחוֹתִי**, **מִשְׁרִיחָוֹן**). For the case of participles see § 30, note 4, and for infinitives § 29, note 8. Certain F nouns, like **בּוֹרֶךְ**, are also combined with suffixes in the manner of plural stems.

8. **מָרִי** 'master', with suffixes employs a stem with consonantal yodh (**מָרִיךְ**, *Chrest.*, p. 23, note 1), or a contracted stem with the suffixes of § 12 (**מָרִיָּה**) (Exod. 21.29, **מָרִיָּה**, Dan. 4.16, 21) or a contracted stem with the suffixes of this section (**מָרֹתִי**) (Exod. 21.34).

§ 13. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

In the Kethibh form (Dan. 4.16, 21) מְרָאֵי might represent *ai* (§ 2.1) but probably א stands for consonantal yodh (§ 23, n. 9).

9*. Prepositions that originally ended in ē, for that reason take *ai* suffixes עַלְךָ, עַלְכֶם, &c.), and other prepositions do so by analogy (קְרַבְתִּי). In OTA עַלְנִינָא or עַלְנִינָה (Ezra 4.12, &c.), an old form of the suffix נִנָּה, is preserved (cf. note 3).

Fem. plur. suffixes. 10. The observations of § 12, note 11, apply also to the suffixes added to plural stems.

§ 14*. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES (with fem. plur. stems).

BORROWED *ai* SUFFIXES.

NORMAL SUFFIXES.

PTM	OJ		OJ and PTM	
אֲפֹרְתִּי	—	yo	אֲפֹרְתָּנוּ	אֲפֹרְתִּי i com.
אֲפֹרְתִּיכֹן	—	—	אֲפֹרְתָּכֹן	אֲפֹרְתִּיךְ 2 masc.
אֲפֹרְתִּיךְ	אֲפֹרְתִּיךְ	—	—	אֲפֹרְתִּיךְ fem.
אֲפֹרְתִּיהָן	אֲפֹרְתִּיהָן	אֲפֹרְתִּיהָן	אֲפֹרְתִּיהָן	אֲפֹרְתִּיהָן 3 masc.
אֲפֹרְתִּיהָא	אֲפֹרְתִּיהָא	—	—	אֲפֹרְתִּיהָא fem.

The normal suffixes added to feminine plural stems are identical with those added to singular stems and the noun form employed is the construct or the emphatic stem, which are the same. The Hebrew practice of combining with feminine plural stems the suffixes appropriate to masc. plural stems, and derived from them (אַדְקוֹתִי, &c.) is occasionally followed in OJ and PTM (for particulars see Table above). Dalman gives the order of frequency of occurrence of these borrowed *ai* suffixes in OJ as: (1) 3 sing. fem., (2) 1 sing., (3) 3 sing. masc. קְ- for קְ- occurs only once or twice, in the Targum of Jonathan (Dalman, p. 205 f.). In Dan. 2.23 some MSS. read אַבְחָתִי for אַבְחָתִי (§ 8, note 12), and this is the only exception to the general rule in OTA.

§ 15. **לִית**, **אִית**, &c.

Forms. 1. Both in OJ (Lev. 11. 26) and PTM (25. ii. 12) and **לֹא** (אַיְתִי) occurs for **לִית**. In OTA the forms used are **לֹא אַיְתִי** and **אִיתִ**.

Subject pronouns. 2. In PTM the subject pronouns of these particles are in the nominative forms (e.g. **לִית הִיא**). **לִית** coalesces with the pronouns of the 1 sing. and 1 plur. and 3 plur. into the compounds **לִינָן**, **לִינָא**, and **לִתְפָנֵן**.

3. In OJ the subject pronouns are generally expressed by suffixes, except in the 3 person plural. The suffixes are *ai* suffixes, because of the original ending of the particles (cf. § 13, note 7, and OTA). In the 1 person singular the ending *ai* has become **א** and the suffix adopts an accusative form (§ 36, note 1). Examples: **אִיתְכֹוּן**, **אִיתְהֹוי**, **אִיתְנִי**. The inflected stem of **לִית** has two forms, as in **לִתְהֹוי** and **לִתְהֹווּ**. In the latter the shewa following yodh is vocal (Dalman, p. 108). The nominative form of the pronoun of the 3 person plural coalesces with **לִית**, as in PTM (**לִתְפָנֵן**). The nominatives of other persons are also sometimes used in OJ (Deut. 1. 9. 10).

4. In OTA the subject pronouns of **אִיתִ** are expressed by means of suffixes of the *ai* form (**אִיתְכֹוּן**, &c.).

Usages. 5. **לִית** and **אִית** express 'there is' and 'there are' (there is not, there are not); e.g. 'there is here a Jew' (20. 9). They are regularly combined with **לֹךְ**, **לִי**, &c., to express the verb 'have'; e.g. 'if you have no money' (15. 9). Sometimes **אִית** may be rendered by 'it is', e.g. 'it is not in my power' (25. ii. 12). In OJ **לִית** is used absolutely, like Hebrew **אָנָה** (Gen. 5. 24, 37. 30).

6. With a predicate, which may be a noun, adjective, or participle, these particles are equivalent to the English copula; e.g. **לִית בֵּיתִא הַרְרוּ חֶרְבָּ** (20. 10), 'this house will not be destroyed' (20. 12). A subject noun or pronoun follows **אִית** (לִית), except in relative sentences or for the sake of emphasis.

Before prepositional phrases, where אֵית may also be translated ‘is’, it really has the sense of ‘there is’ or ‘there exists’, e.g. בְּלֹא אֵית בָּהּ ‘everything that is (there is) in it’ (26.14; cf. Dan. 2.30).

§ 16. VERBAL STEMS

REFLEXIVE AND PASSIVE.

אַתְּפִיחַב	Ithpeel	בְּתֻבַּה	Peal	Simple
אַתְּפִחַב	Ithpaal	בְּתֻבַּבַּה	Pael	Intensive
אַתְּכִחַבְּ	Ittaphal	אַקְטִיחַבְּ	Aphel	Causative

1*. The stems having preformative *i/h* are reflexives, which serve also as passives.

2*. The Pael, Aphel, and Ithpeel of verbs final ח, ח, and י take pathah for šere in the final syllable. For other variations caused by the influence of gutturals see § 23.

Peal. 3*. Peal perfects with ē or ū in the final syllable, principally intransitive, occur especially in OJ. Examples: פָּקִיף ‘be strong’ (Gen. 1.28) or ‘be angry’ (Gen. 4.5), דְּחִיל (Gen. 3.10), בְּרִיב (Gen. 12.1), שְׁלִים (Gen. 15.16), גְּסֻב (Gen. 2.21); דְּמֻזָּק and גְּסֻב (Gen. 2.21). ḥō occurs for ū (Mröd, Kahle, p. 219) and ī for ē, especially in pause (Dalman, pp. 54 f., 257). In OTA ē and ī both occur, the latter generally in pause (אֶרְבָּב, שְׁאָלָה, קְרָב). Where MT has ī the supralinear MSS. sometimes have ē (Dan. 6.21, יְעַן).

Haphel. 4*. Haphels sometimes take the place of Aphels in PTM and OJ. The only examples in OJ are, הָזְדָע, הַיְמִין, and הַזְּפָע (Dalman). For OTA Haphels see note 11.

5. In הַיְמִין, which is borrowed from Hebrew, the final vowel is ī (Gen. 45.26—Berliner) or ē (Gen. 15.6—Berliner). Supralinear MSS. give both הַיְמִין (Dalman, p. 302, note 2) and יְמִין (Merx). In Dan. 6.24 the sublinear vowel is ī and the supralinear is ē.

Ith forms. 6*. The Ithp^eel and Ithpaal of verbs initial dental and sibilant are modified as follows

(a) תַ of the prefix is assimilated to a following תַ, טַ, or דַ (thus אָתְּבָרֵך becomes אָתְּבָרֶך).

(b) תַ changes places with a following sibilant and after צַ and זַ becomes טַ and דַ respectively. Examples: אָצְּבָרֶך, אָשְׁפְּטָמָע, אָצְּבָרֶך, אָזְּדָרָע.

Ittaphal forms are not affected (אָתְּפָהָה, Exod. 21. 29).

7. In PTM assimilation of תַ to מַ, בַ, פַ and other consonants takes place occasionally. Examples: אָתְּבָרִי = אָבָרִי, אָתְּפָסִיק = אָפָסִיק (21. 4), אָתְּנִשְׁמָה = אָנִשְׁמָה, אָתְּמִלְיכָה = אָמִלְיכָה (28. 4). Dalman compares ἐφθαθά (Mark 7. 34) = אָתְּפָחָה (§ 19, note 5). Cf. also Chrest. 4. 19, מִתְקְנִיה = מִתְקְנִיה.

8. In the supralinear vocalization an intrusive vowel frequently appears after preformative אָתְּ, in the perfect and other tenses (אָתְּמִנְעָ).

Shaphel, &c. 9*. Shaphel causative forms are found. The most frequent are שְׁכִילֵל 'complete' (passive אָשְׁכִילֵל, Gen. 2. 1), שְׁעִיבֵר 'subdue' (Gen. 12. 5), שְׁזִיעֵב 'rescue' (Gen. 37. 21), שְׁזִיעֵב 'finish' (Gen. 2. 2). See § 26, note 6.

10. Less common forms are the Pō'ēl and Pā'ēl (both = Arabic iii), with their passives (e.g. יְמִין, Gen. 24. 14). The Pōlēl, Pālēl, and Palpēl are formed from stems עַי and עַע (§ 32, note 7, § 34, note 2).

OTA. 11. OTA instead of Ittaphals uses Hophals and a perfect passive Pe'il, of the form Pe'il, especially in the 3 person (יְהִיבָה). Dan. 5. 28; יְהִיבָה, Ezra 5. 14; cf. אֲחִידָת, Chrest. 1. 8). Haphels for Aphels and preformative הָתְּ for אָתְּ are both normal in OTA, though not universal. With אֲשֻׁתּוּם (Dan. 4. 16) the Syriac forms having preformative הָתְּ may be compared.

12. Where OJ has ē in the final syllable (Pael, Aphel, Ithp^eel) OTA sometimes has ē and sometimes ī. It is difficult to make

a general statement on the subject, or to frame an accurate paradigm, because of the paucity of material. The following review includes all perfects, imperfects, imperatives, and participles of verbs other than those לְאָ (§ 27), which agree with OJ, and עַיִ and עַעַי (§§ 32 and 34), which exhibit the vowels ē and ī in nearly equal proportion. In the PAEL perfect, examples of ī number four, against one of ē (Dan. 6. 1); in the imperf. and partic. there is one example of both on each side, of the imperat. no cases at all. In the HAPHEL the perfect (three examples) and the imperative (two examples) have ē (excluding הַיּוֹן, note 5), in the imperfect there are two cases of ī and two of ē (viz. פִתְחָת and תְהַזֵּב), in the participle two cases of ī. In the HITHP^eEL there are no cases of the perfect or imperative, in the imperfect there are four examples of ī and one of ē, and in the participle two examples of ē. The extent of the influence exercised by pause on these forms is very uncertain. For intransitive Peal perfects see note 3.

§ 17. PERFECT TENSES

PAEL.		PeAL.		
PTM	OJ	OJ	PTM	OJ
פִתְבִּיב		דִמְוִיכָה	פִתְבִּיב	3 s. m.
פִתְבִּית		דִמְוִיכָת	פִתְבִּית	f.
פִתְבִּית - תְא		דִמְוִיכָת - תְא	פִתְבִּית - תְא	2 s. m.
פִתְבִּית		דִמְוִיכָת	פִתְבִּית	f.
פִתְבִּית		דִמְוִיכָת	פִתְבִּית	1 sing.
פִתְבָּנוּ	פִתְבִּיבָוּ	דִמְוִיכָוּ	פִתְבָּנוּ	3 pl. m.
פִתְבָּנוּ	פִתְבִּיאָ	דִמְוִיכָאָ	פִתְבָּנוּ	f.
פִתְבָּנוּ	פִתְבִּיתָוּ	דִמְוִיכָתָוּ	פִתְבָּנוּ	2 pl. m.
פִתְבָּנוּ	פִתְבִּפְנִין	דִמְוִיכָפְנִין	פִתְבָּנוּ	f.
פִתְבָּנוּ	פִתְבִּינָאָ	דִמְוִיכָנָאָ	פִתְבָּנוּ	1 plur.

Table. 1*. The table represents the inflexion of all perfects, in *ă*, *ē*, and *ū*. The analogy of OTA (note 6) suggests that the supralinear 3 s. f. should be pronounced פְּתַחְתָּה rather than פְּתַחְתָּה (§ 2. 6).

Endings. 2*. The distinctive ending נִפְנִי is more common in OJ than in PTM (Dalman) and is predominant in OTA (¶).

3*. The PTM plural endings *ān* and *ān* are borrowed from the imperf. tense, to which they properly belong. *ū* and *ā* also occur in PTM.

4. In PTM יִנְיָן occurs for יִתְהַנֵּן and יִתְהַנֵּן for יִתְהַנֵּן, especially in Aphels. The *ē* may have been transferred from the final syllable of the Aphel (Pael) stem. Dalman suggests the influence of the forms of § 21, note 7. Examples: אֲקָלָנִי (25. 5), אֲפָנִי (23. 9). The form יִתְהַנֵּן (19. ii. 9) = יִתְהַנֵּן + יִתְהַנֵּן.

Accent. 5*. In OJ only the 2 plur. terminations are accented; in OTA the 2 plur., 3 s. f. (Syriac type—see note 6) and the 1 sing.; in PTM at least the 2 and 3 plur. terminations and possibly, like OTA, the 3 s. f. and 1 sing.

OTA. 6. In OTA the 3 s. f. has two forms, one of the OJ type and the other resembling the Syriac form. The former occurs in two Peals (בְּטַלְתָּה, אֲמֹרָתָה) and in the few cases there are of Hithpeel (הַתְּבֹרֶתָה) and Haphel (הַדְּקָתָה) forms. The latter occurs in three Peals (סְלִיקָתָה) and in two of three Hophals (הַחְרֵבָתָה). In the Pael, Pael, and Hophal the 1 sing. has a form that resembles the Syriac (יִרְעָתָה). In the Haphel, besides הַקִּימָתָה (§ 33), only הַשְׁבָחָתָה (ברכת, יְרֻעָתָה). In the Haphel, besides הַקִּימָתָה (Dan. 2. 25) occurs. The form resembles that of OJ and perhaps its vocalization, which is also that of a 3 s. f. perfect, should be הַשְׁבָחָת (as in הַשְׁבָחָת) or הַשְׁבָחָת (as in supralinear MSS.). The supralinear MSS. of OTA have a larger proportion of OJ forms than MT in the 3 s. f. perfect, but they do not wholly eliminate the Syriac type. The absence of vowels in the texts of PTM leaves it uncertain how far they agree with the forms of OJ and how far with those of OTA.

Syntax. 7. In PTM the 2 pl. masc. form is always used for the 2 pl. fem. and frequently the 3 pl. m. for the 3 pl. f. (Dalman).

8. In PTM and OTA perfect tenses alternate with participles in narratives regarding the past (cf. § 21), and the use of successive sentences unconnected by conjunctions (*asyndeton*) is characteristic, especially of PTM. OJ follows the Hebrew text in its use of conjunctions. The perfect is used to express unfulfilled conditions after אָזִין (26. 18) and אָלֹף (21. 11, 24. 1, 27. 12) and sometimes also as the tense of the following apodosis (21. 11), but not generally (see § 22, note 2f.).

§ 18. IMPERFECT TENSES

PAEL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.
יְכַתְּבֻן	יְכַתֵּב
יְכַתְּבָנּוּ	פְּכַתְּבִיב
פְּכַתְּבֻן	פְּכַתְּבִיב
פְּכַתְּבָנּוּ	פְּכַתְּבִיוֹן
פְּכַתְּבִיב	פְּכַתְּבִיב
נְכַתְּבִיב	אֲכַתְּבִיב

PEAL.—OJ AND PTM

PLUR.	SING.
יְכַתְּבֻן	יְכַתְּבּוֹב
יְכַתְּבָנּוּ	פְּכַתְּבּוֹב
פְּכַתְּבֻן	פְּכַתְּבּוֹב
פְּכַתְּבָנּוּ	פְּכַתְּבּוֹבִין
פְּכַתְּבִיב	פְּכַתְּבּוֹבִין
נְכַתְּבִיב	גְּכַתְּבּוֹב

Stem vowels. 1*. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is rarely ē, except in the case of verbs final aleph or yodh (עֶבֶיר, יְהֻנֵּה, יְתַנֵּה). Pathah is not usual in the imperff. Peal of intransitive verbs. For verbs final guttural see § 23. The occasional use of ū for ō and of ī for ē may originally have been limited to pausal forms, where it is found with special frequency (Deut. 16. 29).

2*. The stem vowels of other imperff. than the Peal agree with the corresponding vowels of the perfect. Examples: יְתַפְּגִישׁ, יְתַבְּחַר.

Preformative vowels. 3*. Supralinear preformative pathah (= seghol) in the 1 sing. imperf. Peal (as in Judg. 4. 7, 6. 15), except

in the case of some verbs initial guttural (§ 23), is a usage of late Yemenite MSS. In OTA preformative seghol occurs twice in MT (אָבָעָא, אָקְרָא)¹ and hireq once (אָגָעָ).

4*. In the supralinear MSS. published by Kahle the preformative vowel of the 1 sing. imperf. Pael is regularly 'אַ, and אִ is commonly written in the unvocalized texts of PTM. This orthography is to be regarded as a representation of haṭeph seghol (§ 2.8). אָסְעָרָם in the MT of Zech. 7. 14 may be compared. The only 1 sing. imperf. Pael form in OTA is אָשְׁעָנָה (Dan. 2. 24).

5. After the final consonant of the preformative syllables of the imperf. Peal and Aphel an intrusive vowel (hireq) is sometimes indicated by the supralinear punctuation (e.g. יְשַׁלְּטוּן = יְשַׁלְּטוֹן, Deut. 15. 6—Kahle p. 222). So also in the Ithpeel (§ 16, note 8).

Prefix ל. **6.** Forms of 3 s. m. imperf. with preformative ל (Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. 565) are found in PTM (21. ii. 6). Examples: (לְפִיק, לְמִיחָה, לְיִכּוֹל, לְהִיאֵי) לִפְקָד, לִמְוחָה, לִיבּוֹל, לְהִיאָה. They seem to occur generally in certain special types of sentence, e.g. in those expressing a purpose (after הִ and קָדְלָא) or a wish (see Dalman, p. 264 f.). In OTA the forms לְהִיאָה (לְהִיאָה), לְהִיאָה, and לְהִיאָה occur. They may have been preferred in order to avoid the use of forms resembling the divine name יהוה.

OTA. **7.** In OTA the stem vowels of the imperf. Peal are ū (יְלִבְשָׁה), ā (יְלִבְשָׁה), and ē (יְלִבְשָׁה) and those of the impf. Pael and Haphel ē or ī (§ 16, note 12). In the Haphel imperf. uncontracted forms are nearly always used (יְהִשְׁבַּח, יְהִשְׁבַּח). The plural ending ū (or ī), for ūn, occurs twice (§ 29, note 10; § 35, note 5). See also notes 3, 4 and 6.

Syntax. **8.** In PTM the uses of the imperfect tense are very strictly limited:

(1) It is a jussive (21. ii. 6, 26. 17, 27. 6) or imperative (with negative, 16. ii. 4, 19. ii. 7 f., 22. ii. 5; as a polite imperat., 24. ii. 7)

¹ In the supralinear MSS. probably hireq, as Dan. 5. 17 (Strack).

and expresses wishes, imprecations (26, last line, 28, second last line) and resolves (18. 9, 28. 6—see (4) below).

(2) It is used after **ך** and **ךָלָא** to express purpose (18. 13, 18. ii. 4, 21. 15), after **ךָלָא** = lest (24. 3) and after **ך** (or **ךְלָא**) in dependence upon verbs of asking (21. 2) and ordering (23. 5).

(3) It is used modally (21. 3), especially in questions (19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7, 24. ii. 2, 25. ii. 8). Cf. note 9 (3).

(4) It is a future tense only when there is an implication of indefiniteness (19. iii. 3 ‘that I should go out’, 22. 1 ‘should be married’, 28. 6, ‘**כֹל דַיִמֶר לִי בְרֵנְשָׁא אֲעַבֵּיד**’, everything that any one *may bid me I will do*’), in subordinate clauses.

9. In OJ the imperfect tense is used more extensively than in PTM. It is employed:

(1) As an imperative, jussive, and voluntative, expressing commands and exhortations (Gen. 6. 21, Exod. 22. 24, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 23. 8, 13, 1 Sam. 24. 13), and resolves (Gen. 6. 7, Josh. 24. 15, 1 Sam. 24. 11).

(2) After **בְּרִיל** **ך** in purpose clauses (Gen. 12. 13, 27. 25, Exod. 8. 6, 11. 7, Deut. 4. 1, 5. 16, 8. 1, 11. 8).

(3) As the usual equivalent of most Hebrew modal imperfects (to be rendered by may, might, would, should, must, &c.). ‘Could’ is expressed by an imperfect (2 Sam. 2. 22, 1 Kings 8. 5) or a participle (1 Kings 18. 10, Jer. 24. 2), or by **ךְ** with an imperf. (Gen. 13. 16). ‘Can’ may also be expressed by **אָפְשָׁר** **ך** (Isai. 49. 15).

(4) As the ordinary future tense, for which PTM uses the participle. Examples: Gen. 2. 17, 3. 4, 49. 1, Exod. 4. 1, 6. 1, Deut. 16. 18, Josh. 1. 3, 18, 3. 5, 10, 13, 18. 8, 23. 5, 1 Sam. 24. 21.

(5) In conditional sentences, following **מִן** (Gen. 18. 26, Exod. 22. 24, Josh. 23. 12) and **אִם** (Hebrew **כִּי**), Josh. 24. 20. A participle, however, is used to translate a Hebrew participle (Gen. 43. 4 f.).

(6) As a future in the past (preterite future)—Gen. 2. 19, Exod. 2. 4, 1 Sam. 22. 22, 2 Kings 13. 14—for which a participle (Gen. 43. 25, 1 Kings 7. 7) or עֲתִידַה with an imperf. (2 Kings 3. 27) are possible alternatives.

10. In OTA the imperfect is used as the ordinary future tense, as a jussive, and in the various modal senses. It is also used in conditional sentences, referring to the future (English indefinite present). It seldom refers to the present or the past.

11. עֲתִידַה ('ready', 'prepared') or עֲתִידַה לְ, with an infinitive, also expresses future time in OJ and PTM (Gen. 4. 10, 41. 28, Exod. 16. 23; Dalman, *Grammar*, p. 268 f.).

12. Sometimes an imperfect tense depends directly upon a governing verb, without הָיָה (§ 7, note 7) being prefixed (29. 21, רְבָנֵנוּ, 'Our teachers here ask (that) I should pray, so that rain may fall'). Cf. בְּלֹא כְּמַלְחָא נְפֻוקֶלְיָה מִן הַכָּא (19. iii. 3) 'the only remedy of the affair is that I should go out from here'. For נְפֻוק and נְצָלִי see note 13.

13. In PTM the 1 plur. imperf. is often used for the 1 sing. impf. (19. iii. 3, 21. 1, 24. ii. 7, 29. 21; Dalman, p. 265 f.). Cf. Dan. 2. 36, and see § 21, note 14.

§ 19. IMPERATIVES

PAEL.	PeAL.	OJ
בְּתִיב	מִנְעַ	עֲבִיד
בְּתִיבִי	מִנְעֵי	עֲבִירִי
בְּתִיבִו	מִנְעֵוּ	עֲבִירֵוּ
בְּתִיבָא	מִנְעָאָ	עֲבִירָאָ
PTM		
בְּתִיב	מִנְעַ	עֲבִיד
בְּתִיבִין	מִנְעֵין	עֲבִידֵין
בְּתִיבִוּ	מִנְעֵוּן	עֲבִידֵוּן
בְּתִיבָנוּ	מִנְעָאָן	עֲבִירָאָן

1*. In PTM the terminations are accented, in OJ unaccented.

2*. The final stem vowel of an imperative form agrees generally with that of the corresponding imperfect tense (cf. § 18, note 1).

3*. The MSS. of PTM indicate only *u* as the stem vowel of the inflected forms of the Peal imperatives. *i* was probably in some cases the stem vowel, as well as *ă* (see § 25, note 5, and § 36, note 9). *עֲבָדֵין* might have been given as the paradigm form.

4*. In OJ and PTM the plural imperative of the derived stems is the same as their 3 plur. perf. and in some verbs the plural imperat. Peal is also ambiguous (*מְנֻעוֹן*, *מְנֻעִי*).

5. ἐφθαθά is understood by Dalman (p. 278, note 1) to be 2 plur. fem. imperative Ethpeel, having *η* assimilated to *ε* (§ 16, note 7) and with the fem. plur. ending silent as in Syriac, the man's *ears* being addressed (in Dalman 'Augen' should be 'Ohren'). Accordingly ἀπέτθα = אַפְתַּח = ἐφθαθά (*η* not being distinguished from *ו* in Galilee—Dalman, p. 57 f.).

OTA. 6. OTA imperatives agree in terminations and accentuation with the imperatives of OJ. The OTA forms corresponding to בְּתַבֵּב are אַכְתַּב (one example) and בְּתַבּוּ (two examples).

§ 20. INFINITIVES

BAB	PTM	OJ	OJ
מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	מְכַתֵּב	Peal
מְכֻתּוֹב			
מְכֻתָּבָא			
בְּתַבּוּ	מְכַתְּבָא	בְּתַבִּית	Pael
אַכְתּוּ	מְכַתְּבָא	אַכְתּוּ	Aphel
אַתְּכַתּוּ	מְתַבְּתָא	אַתְּכַתּוּ	Ithpeel
אַתְּבַתּוּ	מְתַבְּתָא	אַתְּבַתּוּ	Ithpaal
אַתְּבַתּוּ	מְתַבְּתָא	אַתְּבַתּוּ	Ittaphal

Orthography. 1*. The feminine ending of the infinitives of the derived stems in PTM is often represented by **ה**, and this orthography is usual in OTA.

BAB. 2. The forms under BAB, which are of Babylonian origin, occur occasionally in OJ (Judg. 3. 26) and PTM (23. 3).

OJ. 3*. The OJ forms in *uth* are used in the construct and with suffixes. Penultimate *a* is unchangeable (**קְרָמִיתִיה**, Gen. 14. 17).

PTM. 4*. The infinn. of the derived stems in PTM are inflected like feminine nouns (**מִפְקַתְּהוֹן**, 16. ii. 8—infin. Aphel of **פָקַת**).

OTA. 5. In OTA the forms are generally those of OJ, but with preformative **ה** for **נ** (see paradigm, p. 95). **תְּנִקְתָּה** (Ezra 4. 22), with construct ending as in PTM, is exceptional.

Infin. Peal. 6*. In OJ and OTA infinn. Peal are inflected as nouns of the B class (**מִקְרָבְהֹן**, § 12, note 5). In PTM the termination **ה**—(§ 36, note 8) is added to the Peal infinitive before suffixes (**מִקְרָבְנִיָּה**).

Syntax. 7. The adverbial use of the Hebrew infin. absolute (as in Deut. 15. 4, 5, 8) is exactly reproduced by OJ, and the Peal infinitive form is then generally written in the supralinear MSS. (but cf. **מִלּוּפָה** in 2 Sam. 24. 24, Kahle, p. 28). The idiom is infrequent in PTM (Dalman, p. 280).

8. In OJ an infinitive dependent on a governing verb is nearly always preceded by **ל**, even when there is no preposition in the Hebrew text (Exod. 2. 3, Deut. 1. 19, 2. 25, Num. 22. 14, Judg. 8. 3, Isai. 1. 14). In OTA the use of **ל** is invariable. In PTM both constructions occur, with **ל** (19. ii. 11, 20. ii. 1 and 3, 22. ii. 6, 24. ii. 1 and 4, 26. 10), and without **ל** (19. ii. 10, 27. 2, 3, 6 and 8, 29. 7).

9. A Hebrew infinitive in the nominative case is generally replaced in OJ by **נ** with an imperfect (Gen. 2. 18, 29. 19, Exod.

14. 12, Judg. 18. 19), or a perfect (Gen. 30. 15), or a partic. (Isai. 7. 13). Examples of the retention of the infin. occur in 1 Sam. 15. 22, 29. 6, Isai. 10. 7.

בְּרִיל The Hebrew negative is represented in OJ by לֹבֶלְתִּי (with an infin.), e.g. in Gen. 3. 11, 4. 15, Deut. 4. 21, 8. 11, Josh. 5. 6, Judg. 2. 23. In OTA לֹאַ with an infin. means ‘must not be’.

11. A peculiarity of the syntax of OTA is that a single object noun, with no qualification, stands before a governing infin. (Dan. 3. 16, 5. 16, &c.). Cf. Dan. 2. 12, 3. 19, 5. 7, 7. 25, where the object follows. Objects such as generally follow a governing infin. may also precede the infin. (Dan. 2. 10, 3. 32, 5. 15, &c.) and do so freely in Ezra (4. 14, 5. 13, &c.).

§ 21. PARTICIPLES

APHEL.	PAEL.	PeAL.
	PTM OJ	
מְכֻתִּיב	מְכֻתִּיב	כתִּיב active
מְכֻפֵּב	מְכֻפֵּב	כתִּיב passive
ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITHPEEL.
מְתֻכָּתֵב	מְתֻכָּתֵב	כתִּפְתִּיב

Forms. 1*. Since verbs final guttural and resh have ḥ for ē in all final syllables אָמַר is the partic. Peal of אָמַר, and there is no distinction between the active and passive forms of the Pael and Aphel participles of such verbs. On the other hand, מְשִׁזֵּיב, שִׁזֵּיב (from מְשִׁזֵּיב, rescue) are passives as well as actives.

2*. In OJ ī sometimes appears for final ē (so עֲבִיד in 1 Kings 1. 6, Kahle, p. 28, and in מְרַחִים in Deut. 28. 50, Kahle, p. 225).

Pael particc. used as nouns always have *î* in the supralinear punctuation (so פְּרִיק, סְחִיר, בְּהִין). In OTA *e* is usual, but eight words have *î* for *e*, viz. :

יָכַל, נְחַת, דְּלָק, נְזֵק, מְטֻלָּל, מְשֻׁפֵּל, מְאֵל, מְשִׁוֹבֵךְ.

3*. The particc. of intrans. verbs have the same forms as those of trans. verbs. Examples : דְמִיָּה (also דְמִזָּק) ‘sleeping’; (also רְחִיָּה) (רְחִיָּה) ‘trusting’, ‘hoping’; (רְחִיָּה) (רְחִיָּה) ‘fearing’.

4*. Words of the form קְתִיב may have an active sense. Examples : (תְּמִימִינָה) (?) קְתִיב ‘thinking’; (דְּבִיר) ‘remembering’; (סְבִיר) ‘wondering’.

5. The form מְכִתְבֵּב occurs occasionally in PTM and (especially with verbs medial guttural) in OJ (Gen. 2. 9).

Inflections. 6. Participles are inflected like nouns of the B class (§ 10, note 7). There is, therefore, no formal distinction between active and passive in the particc. Pael and Aphel when these are inflected (מְכִתְבָּא, &c.). Forms like תְּמִיהִין (17. ii. 18), מְקִילִין (23. 8), יְתִיבָא (27. 2), and עֲבִידָא (28. 17) occur in the unvocalized texts of PTM and are read by Dalman as עֲבִיךְא, &c. They do not occur in MSS. having a supralinear vocalization (Dalman, p. 311). Possibly yodh in such cases signifies vocal shewa (§ 2. 8).

7*. Shortened forms of the personal pronouns of the first and second persons (אֱנִי, נִי, תִּ, and הִ) joined to particc. make a new tense form. Examples : רְכִבְתִּנָּא (Gen. 4. 9), יְדַעְתִּנָּא (Berliner) or רְכִבְתִּקְתִּ (Merx), in Num. 22. 30, תְּרַעַתִּ (Deut. 11. 10, Kahle, p. 16), יְדַעְתִּנְךְּ (25. ii. 8), יְדַעְתִּנְךְּ (Judg. 5. 16). See also § 30, note 5.

8. Tense forms got by uniting particc. and perf. terminations also occur, e.g. מְצֻלָּה (or מְצֻלָּה, § 28, note 1), meaning ‘they prayed’ (Dalman, p. 284).

¹ So Dalman (cf. *Gram.*, p. 290); why not יְדַעְתִּנְךְּ?

Syntax. 9. In PTM participles take over much of the early usage of imperfect tenses. They serve as an ordinary future tense (15. 9, 16. 5—**יְמִיבָּדֵת**, 20. 11, 23. ii. 8, 26. 3), and as the English indefinite present (= future) in conditional sentences (16. ii. 13), and they express promises (15. 10, 20. ii. 11) and general truths (23. 8). With **בַּעֲדָה** ‘while’ (14. ii. 4), and in an object sentence dependent on a past tense (16. ii. 11) they are used as past progressives and may sometimes be rendered by an English past tense (24. 2). The use of particc. in place of perfect tenses in narratives of past events is very characteristic (24. ii. 3, 25. ii. 2 ff., 27. 9—**אָמַרְתָּ**).

10. In OJ particc. often represent Hebrew imperff. (or consecutive perff.), but not to the same extent as in PTM and not in the same uses. Acts customary in the present (Exod. 18. 15, Num. 11. 12, Deut. 1. 31 and 44, Judg. 7. 5, 10. 4, 1 Sam. 5. 5, 16. 7, 2 Kings 9. 20) or in the past (Gen. 29. 2, Num. 9. 20, Judg. 2. 19, 6. 5, 14. 10, 1 Sam. 1. 3, 6, 7, 2. 13 f. and 19) are expressed by particc. For the different idiom employed by PTM, see § 22, note 2 (c).

In questions understood of present time, a Hebrew imperf. is rendered in OJ by a participle (Gen. 32. 29 = 32. 30, 37. 15, Exod. 2. 13, 3. 3, Judg. 17. 9, 19. 17, 1 Sam. 1. 8, 25. 10, 28. 16).¹

So, also, when the Hebrew imperf. denotes continuance of a state through a period in the past (Gen. 2. 25, Exod. 13. 22, 1 Sam. 1. 13, Isai. 10. 7) or the future (1 Sam. 1. 14).

11. In OTA the partic. is the ordinary equivalent of a present tense (Dan. 2. 8) and a very frequent alternative to a perfect in narratives of past events (Dan. 4. 4, Ezra 5. 3). It is also used as a progressive tense, descriptive of events in the present (Dan. 3. 25—**מְהֻלְּכִים**) or the past (Dan. 5. 5—**כְּתָבָה**), and in stating general

¹ In OJ an imperfect in questions is to be understood as a future (Gen. 16. 8), or in a modal sense (Gen. 27. 45, 1 Sam. 17. 8, 28. 15). Cf. § 18, note 9.

truths (Dan. 2. 21). Occasionally it alternates with the imperfect as a future tense (Dan. 4. 29).

12. When the pronoun subject of a partic. is in the third person, it is often left unexpressed (*Chrest.* 15. 11, 16. ii. 3, 20. 8, 24. 10, 27. 9; Dan. 4. 4, 4. 32).

13. A general statement with an indefinite subject is expressed by the plural of a partic. without an explicit subject. Examples: *Chrest.* 27. 11, 'men despise'; Ezra 6. 3, 'men sacrifice'; Dan. 4. 28, equivalent to a passive 'you are addressed'.

14. The 1 pers. plur. of the participle tense (note 7) may be used for the 1 pers. sing. (Dalman, p. 266). Cf. § 18, note 13.

15. Some verbs take as their complement a participle, instead of an infin. Examples: קָם (14. ii. 1), שָׁרֵי (16. ii. 9, 20. 10), עָבַד (19. 13). ('begin') is used with particc. in the Peshitta, but with infinn. in OJ (Gen. 6. 1, Deut. 2. 31, Judg. 10. 18, 13. 5, 1 Sam. 14. 35) and in OTA (Ezra 5. 2).

§ 22. COMPOUND TENSES

1*. The tenses of the verb הִיוֹן 'become' form compound tenses with the participles of other verbs. These compound tenses occur frequently in PTM and are also a characteristic feature of OTA. They are seldom used by OJ.

2. In PTM the perfect of הִיוֹן joined to a present participle expresses :

(a) *A past progressive tense*, in sentences introduced by 'who' or 'when' (14. ii. 1, 15. ii. 1, 22. 7) and in circumstantial clauses (15. 6, 16. ii. 5). It describes a prolonged state or act in the past, where in English a past tense is a possible (22. 3, 27. ii. 1) or a preferable (16. ii. 5, 16. ii. 8) alternative. The verbs employed are very frequently intrans. verbs denoting state or condition. Examples: בְּרֵא הָיָה אֲתִי 'when he was coming', יְרֵא הָיָה אֲתִי 'now he

וְהַזֶּה בָּכְבִּיהָ גֹּו אָסְטַרְתָּה וְאָמְרִיתָ לְךָ מָה לֵדֶק (29. 6) knew'. In the sentence possibly expresses a past inchoative, 'when she began weeping in the street, I asked her what was the matter'.

(b) *A pluperfect progressive tense*, in sentences dependent on a past tense (16. 6, 'he found that he had been selling').

(c) *A habit or custom*, in the present (21. 12) or the past (22. ii. 2, 23. ii. 7, 27. 1, 28. 6, 'he used to say').

(d) *An act repeated in the past a number of times, by the same or by different persons* (15. 3, 19. ii. 15—**כָּל מְאוֹ רְהֹוֹת אֲתִי לְתֹפֵן הָהָה**—21. 13, 22. 7).—**עֲבָידִים**

(e) *A future in the past* (preterite future), 'he lay down beside one of them in order to learn what they would say' (17. ii. 4 f.).

(f) *A past conditional*, expressing 'would have' (22. 9, after **הִקְ**, 24. 2, 27. 12, both in apodoses of conditional sentences, after unfulfilled conditions).

3. The participle tense of **הָהָה** (see § 21, note 7) may be used, instead of its perfect tense, in combination with the present participle of another verb. Examples: (a) 'הַיִּחְיָא מִנְלִיא': 'I repeatedly uncovered' (22. 7), (b) 'מִתְהַזֵּה מִסְעָר דַּעַתִּי' 'How could I have diverted my attention?' (29. 28). For the expression of 'could have' by a compound tense see also note 5.

4. In OTA the uses of the perfect compound tense, so far as they occur, are the same as in PTM. Examples: (a) Dan. 2. 31, 5. 19—**הָוֹ יָצַעַן** 'trembled', describing a prolonged state or condition; (c) Dan. 5. 19—**הָהָה קָטֵל** 'he used to kill'; (d) Dan. 6. 11, 'הָהָא בְּרוּךְ בְּרוּךְ בְּרוּךְ' 'three times in the day he knelt on his knees and prayed' (בְּרוּךְ בְּרוּךְ בְּרוּךְ ...); and Dan. 6. 5, 'they sought repeatedly to find an excuse' (**הָהָו בְּעִין**). In Dan. 6. 15 may be classed under (a) or (d).

5*. In OJ a participle or an imperfect tense is generally used where PTM would use a compound perfect tense. A compound

perfect is, however, sometimes used to describe an act or state extending over a period of time (Gen. 2. 6, 19, Josh. 4. 14, ‘as they had reverenced’) or repeated at intervals during a period of time (Gen. 31. 18). It is also used in the apodosis of conditional sentences (Judg. 11. 39, ‘he would have redeemed’) and to express ‘could have’ (Gen. 43. 7). It is of course the regular equivalent of the same compound tense in Hebrew (Gen. 4. 17, 37. 2, &c.).

6*. The imperfect נִהְיָה joined to the present participle of another verb is used (*a*) as a future progressive tense (Exod. 1. 16, after לֹא), (*b*) to express future custom or habit (Dan. 2. 43), and (*c*) after וְ and נִלְכַּד to express result or effect (*Chrest.* 16. ii. 14, 18. 15, 20. 5; Dan. 6. 3, Ezra 6. 10, 7. 25 f.) or the substance of a command (22. ii. 3 f.). As an alternative to a simple jussive this tense perhaps implies emphasis or menace (*Chrest.* 19. ii. 17; cf. Ezra 6. 8 f.). For corresponding uses of the imperfect see § 18, note 8 (2).

7. A relative sentence contains a compound tense when there is a compound tense in the associated principal clause (Dan. 5. 19—**בַּיּוֹם** צָבָא—Ezra 7. 26, *Chrest.* 19. ii. 15).

8*. הִנֵּה joined to a passive participle provides the equivalent of a simple perfect passive (17. ii. 2, 25. ii. 10; Dan. 6. 4, Ezra 5. 11). הִיה with a passive participle is used as a jussive passive (Dan. 3. 18, Ezra 4. 12, 6. 8 f.); cf. note 6.

9. In PTM, as in Syriac, the perfect of any verb may be slightly strengthened by prefixing to it the perfect of הִנֵּה (Dalman, p. 257 f.).

10. נִתְחַטֵּא in combination with an infinitive is sometimes equivalent to a compound tense (20. ii. 10—**מִרְאַתִּי א'** מִפְבֹּשׂ מִרְיַנְתִּא—after (he) had conquered the city’).

§ 23. INFLUENCE OF GUTTURALS UPON VERBAL FORMS

The influence of gutturals (**ח**, **כ**, **ע**) and of **ר** upon the vowels of verbal forms is not as extensive as in Hebrew, but, so far as it goes, is similar in character.

1*. Pathah holds the place of normal šere in the final syllable of all parts of verbs final guttural or resh (Pael, Aphel, partic. Peal, &c.). In the final syllable of imperff. and imperatives Peal pathah is usual, but ō also occurs before final resh and final 'ayin, especially in PTM. In OTA pathah is used in all the cases covered by this section. The verbs of §§ 27, 32, and 34 are not included.

2*. In the imperf. Peal preformative pathah is used in some verbs (e.g. יְחִזּוֹת, יְעַבֵּד, יְשֻׁשּׁוֹק), but hireq is more common (Dalman). In OTA the form is יְתַלְפֹּז (twice) or יְעַדָּא or יְעַדָּה (thrice), with the imperfect forms of הַיְהָוֹא תְּווָה (תְּהִוָּה, &c.), are the only Peal imperff. of verbs initial guttural that occur. Dalman (page 93) makes the supralinear pathah of יְעַבֵּד equivalent to seghol (hence *Chrest.* 18. 4, 19. ii. 9, 20. ii. 7).

3*. Apparently the only infin. with preformative pathah is מַעֲבֵד. In OTA the form is מַעֲבֹד (twice) and Dalman follows this analogy in his *Dialektproben* (18. 14, 29. 7).

4*. Pathah furtive is used in the pass. partic. Peal of verbs final guttural (חַטֶּשׁ). See also § 32, note 1.

5*. An intrusive pathah separates the termination הַ from the stem of verbs final guttural. E. g. הַשְׁתַּבְחָתִ (Dan. 5. 27).

6*. Vocal shewa following a guttural in the supralinear punctuation is to be pronounced as the sublinear haṭeph would be. Supralinear pathah in perf. like אָמַר signifies haṭeph pathah and šere in imperative forms like עִירָאָמַר and signifies haṭeph seghol. See § 2. 7, 8.

7*. An intrusive haṭeph (before vocal shewa an intrusive

pathah) is indicated in some MSS. of OJ after initial **י** and initial **ח** in the imperf. and infin. forms of the Peal (Aphel, Shaphel). **מעבר** and **יעבר** are most frequently so treated. Cf. Judg. 12. 5 and 16. 24 (מִתְרֵב, Hebrewism?). In some MSS. after **ו** an intrusive **hireq** is indicated, in harmony with the hireq of the preformative syllable (Dalman, p. 93; Kahle, p. 223). For forms with intrusive vowels in OTA see note 2.

8*. In the intensives of verbs medial resh, in which the medial radical is not doubled, the preceding pathah is regularly lengthened into compensation qames and, similarly, sometimes before medial **ו** or **א**. Examples: סָאֵיב, גַּשְׁיֵל, בְּרֵיךְ. In Dan. 5. 9 the sublinear reading is מִתְבְּהֵל and the supralinear is מִתְבְּהֵל (or מִתְבְּהֵל).

9. **א** between two vowels was pronounced yodh (Dalman, p. 60), hence PTM in the inflected forms of the active partic. Peal of verbs medial aleph and in the intensive forms of שְׂאֵיר and שְׂאֵיל writes שְׂאֵיר and שְׂאֵיל OJ = שְׂיר (Gen. 43. 7—Dalman, p. 305) and שְׂאֵר. See also § 33, note 2.

§ 24. VERBS INITIAL NUN

נִחת	סְלִיק	גַּסְבַּ, גַּסְבִּיב	גַּפְקַ	Peal	perf.
יִיחֹת	יִפְקַ	יִפְכַּ	יִפְקַ		imperf.
חוֹת	סְקַ	סְבַ	פְּקַ		imperat.
חוֹתוֹ	סְקוֹ	סְבוֹ	פְּקוֹ		
מִיתָת	מְפַקַּ	מְפַבַּ	מְפַקַּ		infin.
מִיחוֹת	מְפֻקַּ	מְפֻבַּ	מְפֻקַּ		PTM
גִּתְיָת	סְלִיק	גַּסְבַּ	גַּפְקַ		partic.
אֲחִית	אֲפִיק		אֲפִיק	Aphel	perf.
גִּתְיָת	יִפְקַ		יִפְקַ		imperf.
אֲחִית	אֲפִיק		אֲפִיק		imperat.
אֲחַתָּא	אֲפְקָא		אֲפְקָא		infin.
מִתָּחִית	מְפִיקַ		מְפִיקַ		partic.

Assimilation. 1*. Assimilation of nun to the medial radical takes place in the impff. and inff. Peal and in all the tenses of the Aphel and Ittaphal. Nun and its vowel (shewa) generally disappear in the imperat. Peal.

2*. In verbs medial **ח** and medial **ע** assimilation of nun does not take place (Gen. 1. 17, אָנַחֲרָא). Unassimilated forms of other verbs also occur (22. ii. 9, יִגְזֹעַ; Gen. 26. 11, יִנְיַקֵּם).

3*. The vocalization of verbs medial **ח**, according to the supralinear punctuation, is shown above. Where pathah is written in the perfect Aphel (Gen. 2. 5, Merx), it may be understood to denote haṭeph pathah (§ 2. 7).

Peal imperatt. and inffinn. 4*. The stem vowels of the imperative Peal do not become vocal shewa in the inflected forms, as they do in Hebrew (see table above). Forms with nun preserved sometimes occur in PTM. סִבְ (15. 9, 16. ii. 7) is an alternative to סֶבֶת.

5. Infinitives like מִפְקָד are normal in OJ, and those like מִפְקָדָה in PTM.

Ithp^eel. 6. Ithpeel forms sometimes assimilate **ח** of the prefix to the following nun (§ 16, note 7).

7*. In סְלִיק **ל** assimilates regressively, so that forms like those of verbs initial nun are produced. The inffin. Haphel הַנְסַקָּה (Dan. 6. 24) is a case of erroneous dissimilation (cf. § 10, note 12).

OTA. 8. So far as examples occur, notes 1–4 apply to OTA. The only verb medial guttural is נְחַת, whose nun is assimilated in the Haphel imperfect (מְנַחַת), imperative (Ezra 5. 15, or אֲנַחַת) and partic. (מְנַחַתִּין), but not in the Hophal (הַנְחַת). Other verbs with unassimilated forms are נְתַן (imperf., inf.), נְפַק (Aphel), and נְזַק (Aphel). There are two *ε* imperfects, יְפַל (as Syriac; OJ יְפֻלֵּ) and יְנַטֵּן or יְנַטַּן. For the imperat. שְׁאֵן see § 27, note 10, and for סְלִיק, note 7.

§ 25. VERBS INITIAL ALEPH

APHEL.		PeAL.		
אָכַבֵּיד	אֹל	אָמַר	אָכְלָל	perf.
יָזַבֵּיד	יְווֹל	יִמְרֶךָ	יִכְלֶל	imperf.
אָכַבֵּיד	אַיְזָיל	אִימְרֶךָ	אִיכְלֶל	imperat.
אָכַבְּדוּ	אַיְזָילָה	אִימְרָה	אִיכְלָה	OJ
אָכַבְּרוּ	אַוְלָה	אִמְרָה	אָכְלָה	PTM
אָכַבְּרָא	מִזְלָה	מִימְרָה	מִיבְלָה	infin.
מָזַבְּרוּ	אַוְלָה	אִמְרָה	אִיכְלָה	partic.

1*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal and in the Aphel נ coalesces with the preformative vowel into ē and ō respectively, and the orthography is generally the same as that of verbs initial yodh (אָכַבְּרָא, יִכְלֶל).

Peal imperf. 2*. The imperfects Peal, that have pathah as their stem vowel, are יִסְפֶּר, יִלְפֶּחֶד, יִמְרֶךָ (but also יִסְׁוֹר) (but also יִסְׁוֹר). The final stem vowel of the imperatives of these words is also pathah (in Hebrew holem). יִכְלֶל does not belong to the group (unlike Hebrew יִאֲכָל).

Imperat. 3*. The supralinear imperatives אִיכְלֶל, אִימְרֶךָ, &c., although pointed with šere, should probably be pronounced אָכְלָה, אִמְרָה, &c. (§ 2.8), as in OTA (אִמְרָה). In the supralinear MSS. of OJ אִיכְלָה (Exod. 33. 1, Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, pp. 5 and 15) and אַיְזָיל (Judg. 18. 19—Praetorius) both occur, and the plural form is אַיְזָיל (Josh. 2. 1, 18. 8). In the singular Berliner's *Onkelos* has both ē (Deut. 10. 11) and ī (Gen. 22. 2, Exod. 3. 16, 33. 1). In all these forms yodh presumably at first represented a hurried vowel (vocal shewa).

4*. Some verbs (e.g. אָחָא, אָחָה) use shortened imperatt. Peal as alternatives to the full forms חָא, וְיָלָה (תָּחָא, וְיָלָה—in Dalman גַּלְלָה). For the ending ō in חָא see § 29.

5*. The stem vowel *i* of the imperat. plur. of PTM is indicated in the texts for some words and may have been the stem vowel of all words of this class. The analogy of the imperat. sing. with suffixes points to *i* or *u* (§ 36, note 9). Dalman's pointing אַלְוֹן and אַכְלֹן (23. 1) seems unlikely.

Aphel. 6*. Of the Aphels with preformative šere that occur in PTM only הִימּוֹן, אִיבֵּיל and some verbs having both initial נ and final נ, such as אַתָּחָא, are recognized by Dalman (p. 298 f.) as correct. The salutation אִישֶׁר 'hail' (*Chrest.* 29. 19) is also supposed to be an Aphel form (imperative). In OJ and OTA (§ 16, note 5) and אַתְּחָא (הִתְּחַדֵּשׁ, הִתְּחַדֵּשׁ), from אַתָּחָא, are used.

Contracted forms. 7. Contraction takes place in the imperf., infin., and partic. of מְלִיף, מְלֻפָּא, יְלִיף, &c.). Contracted Ithpeels and Ithpaals also occur (e.g. אַתְּחַמֵּר = אַתְּחַטֵּר and אַתְּחַדֵּר = אַתְּחַדֵּר). There seems to be similar contraction of verbs initial yodh (in אַתְּלִיד, Gen. 4. 18, 26, 24. 15, Merx).

Unusual forms. 8. יְבַד (18. ii. 2) and יְלַפָּה (18. ii. 2) are used as alternative forms of אֲבָד and אֲלַפָּה (cf. § 23, note 9). יְיִמְרָא (= יִמְרָא) is a Babylonian form, which occurs in PTM (16. 5). אַכְלַנְׂן (17. ii. 7) seems to have no parallel and may be an error for אַכְלַנְׂן (§ 21, note 7) or אַכְלַנְׂא.

OTA. 9. The variations of OTA are as follows. Etymological aleph is generally written in the Peal imperf. and infin. (מְאֹמֵר, יְאֹמֵר), except in the cases of מְתַחָא and מְזַעָּא, from אַתָּחָא and אַזְעָא (§ 27). In the Peal imperat. נ is generally followed by haṭeph seghol and in אַזְלָה (Ezra 5. 15) šere is its equivalent (cf. note 3 and אַזְוָה, Dan. 3. 22, = אַזְוָה, pass. ptc. Peal). In Dan. 7. 5, where MT has אַכְלִי, Strack's supralinear text reads אַכְלִי, i.e. אַכְלִי (§ 2. 8, 9). The Hophal. perf. (Dan. 7. 11) has the same form as the Hophal of verbs initial yodh. See also note 6 and the table of verbs, p. 96.

§ 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

APHEL.

PEAL.

אָוְטִיב	יִרְתָּה	יִתְבַּחֵב	יִדְעַ	יִכְלֶל	perf.
יְוָתִיב	יִרְתִּית	יִתְבַּחֲבֵב	יִדְעַ	יִכְלֹל	imperf.
אָוְטִיב	יִרְתָּה	יִתְבַּחֵב	יִדְעַ	—	imperat.
אָוְטִיב	רָתָה	פָּתַב	בָּעַ	—	
אָוְטִיבִי	רָתִי	פָּתַבִּי	בָּעַי	—	
אָוְטְבָא	מְתַבֵּב	מְתַבָּע	מְפַלֵּל	—	infin.
	מִרְתָּה	מִתְבָּב	מִיכְלָע	—	

Peal prefixes. 1*. In the imperf. and infin. Peal yodh coalesces with the preformative vowel into (1) ē and (2) ɻ followed by the middle radical doubled. In the imperf. tense ē is unusual except before a medial guttural or resh and the punctuation of the MSS. cannot always be relied on. Examples: תִּשְׁבַּשׁ (Ezek. 17. 15—Kahle, p. 46), גִּכְזָל (Deut. 10. 13—Kahle, p. 15; Ezra 7. 18), (Josh. 9. 19, for תִּקְלְלוּן, 'we are able'), נִכְזָל (Josh. 24. 19, for 'you are able'). For OJ forms having shewa as their preformative vowel see note 2.

Stem vowels. 2. Imperf. Peal with ē as their stem vowel are forms like יִתְבַּחֵב (PTM occasionally). In OJ imperf. forms like יְלִיד (Gen. 3. 16) and יְזִירָה (Deut. 15. 6) are found occasionally.

Imperat. 3*. The imperatt. Peal are treated like the imperatt. of verbs initial nun. In PTM the initial radical is sometimes preserved (יִתְבּוּן, יִתְבּוּבָה).

Aphel. 4*. The preformative vowel of the Aphel is generally אָוְנִיק (אָוְנִיק, אָוְטִיב ə). Where ē occurs in the MSS. it is frequently due to textual error (Dalman, p. 307 f.). Dalman recognizes אַיְלִיל in OJ and אַיְתִּיר as possibly correct in PTM occurs in OTA (Ezra 5. 14, 7. 15).

5*. In OJ הָרָע is used for אָוְרָע and the uncontracted forms יְהָרָע.

66 § 26. VERBS INITIAL YODH AND WAW

and more often, probably, than the contracted forms. Cf. § 16, note 4.

Shaphel. 6. The Shaphel (שְׁזִיב (OTA) 'rescue' has no Peal in use (?) = סָזֵב (Ezra 6. 3) may be regarded as a causative of בָּל, with ב as in some Syriac forms. For שְׂזִיב (?) from יְצַא see § 27, note 8.

Ithpeel. 7. For elision of yodh in Ithpeel forms see § 25, note 7.

8. In PTM forms with elided ה are used (e.g. יְבִית, Chrest. 29. 8). In OJ and OTA the imperf. and infin. of נתן take the place of the corresponding parts of יְהַב and are the only parts of נתן in use (see § 24, note 8). In PTM they are alternatives to מְיַהַב and יְיַהַב to מְיַהַב or יְיַהַב.

OTA. 9. For a synopsis of the forms of OTA see table, p. 96. In Peal perf. and imperf. the stem vowel ִ corresponds to OJ e (יְחַב; יְכַל, יְתַב). In the imperf. Peal preformative ִ and ֶ both occur יְנַדְעַ is always, erroneously, dissimilated to יְנַדְעַ (seven times). The normal Haphel form is like הְזַתְבֵּב (cf. note 4) and a Hophal form (הְזַפְפֵּב) occurs once. See also notes 6 and 8.

§ 27. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

ITTAPHAL.	ITHPAAL.	ITPH ^E EL.	APHEL.	PAEL.	PEAL.	
אֲפֻחוֹי	אֲתֻחוֹי	אֲתֻחוֹי	אֲתֻחוֹי	חֹוֹי	חֹוֹי	perf.
אֲפֻחוֹא	אֲתֻחוֹא	אֲתֻחוֹא				
יְפֻחוֹי	יְתֻחוֹי	יְתֻחוֹי	נְתֻחוֹי	יְתֻחוֹי	יְתֻחוֹי	imperf.
אֲפֻחוֹי	אֲתֻחוֹי	אֲתֻחוֹי	אֲתֻחוֹי	חֹוֹי	חֹוֹי	imperat.
אֲפֻחוֹה	אֲתֻחוֹה	אֲתֻחוֹה	אֲתֻחוֹה	חֹוֹה	חֹוֹה	infin.
מְפֻחוֹיא	מְתֻחוֹיא	מְתֻחוֹיא	מְתֻחוֹיא	מְתֻחוֹיא		PTM
מְפֻחוֹוי	סְתֻחוֹוי	סְתֻחוֹוי	סְתֻחוֹוי	מְתֻחוֹוי	חֹוֹי	act. ptc.
מְפֻחוֹא				מְתֻחוֹא	חֹוֹי	pass. ptc.
				מְתֻחוֹי	חֹוֹי	PTM

Final vowels of stem. 1*. In the bare stem forms, without an inflexional ending, the final radical coalesces with the preceding vowel into *ī* or *ē* or *ă* or *ā*. *ā* occurs only in the perfect Peal (3 s. m.) and in the OJ adverbial infin. (note 6). *ă* comes from *ai* (cf. § 13, note 2) and the forms of the paradigm in which it is found seem to be peculiar to OJ (see, however, note 6). In OJ and PTM the distinctive orthography **חִוָּה** is more common, in this verb, than **חִוָּא** (cf. § 13).

2*. Intransitive perfects Peal ending in *ī* in OJ are: **סְנִי שְׁתִּי**, **אֲשֶׁתִּי**, **צְבִי תְּרִי**, &c. (**אֲשֶׁתִּי**, with prosthetic vowel) is the only form of the kind in PTM (Dalman). In OTA **שְׁתִּי צְבִי** and **אֲשֶׁתִּי** occur.

3. Where *ī* appears in the final syllable of imperfects, it may be regarded as due to scribal error (Dalman).

4*. In Yemenite MSS. Peal imperatt. of the form **מַלְאֵךְ** are corrections of **מַלְאֵךְ** under the influence of Hebrew (Dietrich, *ZATW.*, xx, p. 151).

Infin. forms. 5*. In OJ the third radical of feminine infinn. is written aleph but pronounced yodh (cf. § 23, note 9). The writing of yodh twice in forms like **מְחֻזָּא נְחֻזָּא**, &c., is a characteristic of unvocalized MSS. **הַ** is used in PTM less frequently than **וְ** to denote the feminine ending of infinitives.

6. In OJ an infin. Peal of the form **מְחֹזָה** is used as an adverbial infin. (cf. § 20, note 7). The PTM form **מְחֹזָה** may have been pronounced **מְחֹזָא**, from **מְחֹזֵי**. In 25. ii. 4 Dalman points *ā* in the final syllable (**לְמְחֹזָם**).

Pass. partic. 7*. The passive partic. Peal is sometimes pointed with final *ī* by supralinear MSS. (Deut. 25. 10, Josh. 7. 10).

Shaphel. 8. The Shaphel form **שִׁלְזִי** ‘complete’, may be derived from **אַזְזִי**. For the *ē* of the preformative syllable see § 26, notes 4 and 6.

OTA. 9. The vocalic endings of the uninflected forms of the perff., imperff., and participles of OTA are *ā*, *ī*, and *ē*, as in

OJ (see table, p. 96). Final yodh is written when the vowel is *i* (יְתַנֵּבֶ) and in (Dan. 5. 12). In other cases—when the final vowel is *a* or *e*—א or ה is written at the end of the word, without any precise distinction between them. Examples: בָּעָה and בָּעָא; בָּנָה and בָּנָא; מָבָא and יָבָא. For the form אִזָּה (Dan. 3. 22) see § 25, note 9. In Ezra 6. 15 the Kethibh is שִׁיצִיא, the Qere שִׁיצֵּיא or שִׁצָּא.

10. There are three examples of a 2 s. m. imperat. in OTA, one Pael (מְפִי, Ezra 7. 25, for מְפִי), in Dan. 2. 4, &c., and נְשָׂא, Ezra 5. 15, from נְשָׂא).

11. The third radical of the infinitives of the derived stems is always yodh in the Kethibh of MT (הַשְׁנִיה, &c.). There are, however, supralinear and other MSS. in which aleph is read, as in OJ, by the Qere (see Strack's notes on Daniel 2. 10 and 6. 9).

12. The forms גָּלֵי (Ezra 4. 18, 23) and קָרֵי (Dan. 2. 30) or רָמֵי (Dan. 2. 19) and the plural רָמִים (Dan. 3. 21, 7. 9) are examples of perfect Peals (§ 16, note 11).

§ 28. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH (perfect tenses)

APHEL.		PEAL.		PEAL.	
PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ	PTM	OJ
	אֲחֹזֵי		שְׁתִּי		חָזָא 3 s. m.
אֲחֹזֵית	אֲחֹזֵית	שְׁתִּיאָת	שְׁתִּיאָת		חָזָה f.
אֲחֹזֵת-	אֲחֹזֵת-	שְׁתִּיאָת-	שְׁתִּיאָת-	2	חָזָת s. m.
	אֲחֹזֵת		שְׁתִּיאָת		חָזָת f.
	אֲחֹזֵת-		שְׁתִּיאָת-	1	חָזָת i. s. com.
אֲחֹזָן	אֲחֹזָן	שְׁתִּיאָן	שְׁתִּיאָן	חָזָן 3 pl. m.	
אֲחֹזָן	אֲחֹזָה	—	שְׁתִּיאָה	חָזָה	f.
	אֲחֹזָת-		שְׁתִּיאָת-	2	חָזָת pl. m.
	אֲחֹזָת-		שְׁתִּיאָת-		חָזָת f.
אֲחֹזָנוּ	אֲחֹזָנוּ	שְׁתִּיאָנוּ	שְׁתִּיאָנוּ	חָזָנוּ	1 pl. com.

Endings. 1*. The OJ plural terminations **וְ** (3 masc.) and **וָתְ** (2 masc.) are peculiar to this class of verbs and are used in the Peal only. Dalman makes the corresponding endings of PTM **וּן** and **וָתּוּן** (?) and extends the use of **וּן** to all perfects, in accordance with the analogy of OJ imperfects.

2*. The distinctive endings **וְיִ** and **וְתִ** occur frequently in OJ and to a less extent in PTM. In OTA the endings of the 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. are **וְ** and **וְתִ** respectively, and there is no example of 2 s. f.

3rd radical. 3*. Before all consonantal endings the third radical of these verbs coalesces with the preceding stem vowel into **ē** or **ī**, as shown in the table. In **ī** perfects the reading **ē**, for **ī**, by Yemenite MSS. is due to late correctors (Dietrich, *ZATW.*, vol. xx, p. 151 f.).

4*. In the 3 s. f. of **ī** perfects and in the 3 pl. f. of all perfects, OJ retains consonantal aleph (pronounced as yodh) and PTM consonantal yodh (וְנִיתָ, 18. 3; שְׁרִיתָ, 21. ii. 7). There are two cases in OTA, both of which agree with PTM in writing yodh (וְנִיתָה, Dan. 7. 15, and הַיִתָה, Dan. 6. 18). In MT these two forms follow two different systems of punctuation. One of the MSS. used by Strack supplies the variant reading הַיִתָה. In PTM אֲחִיתָה or אֲחִיתָה (?) are unvocalized forms for אֲחִיתָה (אֲחִיתָה?) and אֲחִיטָה. In OJ נְ appears also in the 3 pl. m. of all **ī** perfects.

5. In PTM forms of the 3 s. f. and 3 pl. m. perf. Peal, with consonantal yodh retained, sometimes occur. Presumably they were pronounced like חִוֵּית and חִוֵּין respectively (§ 17). Dalman's pointing of חִמֵּית (22. 19) and בְּעִית (27. 2) seems to follow the analogy of the OTA (Hophal) form הַיִתָה (note 4). In OTA the Kethibh preserves one 3 s. f. perf. Peal with consonantal yodh (מִתֵּית, Dan. 4. 21).

OTA. 6. In OTA before consonantal terminations the final syllable of the stem becomes **ī** in **ī** perfects (מִתֵּית), **ai** in the 2 s. m.

of ordinary perf. Peal (בָּנִית) and in בְּנִיתָה or בְּנִיתָה 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27), ē in other forms (בְּנִינָא, בְּנִית). See also note 2.

7. In the 3 sing. fem. perf. Peal the forms בְּנִית and בְּנִית are written by MT without discrimination. Strack uniformly prints בְּנִית. In other respects the 3 s. f. of perfect tenses agrees with PTM (see notes 4 and 5). There is no example in OTA of a pl. fem. perf.

8. In one 3 pl. m. form (בְּנִיתִי, § 31, note 6) consonantal yodh is retained and the vocalization is that of the normal verb (§ 17). With this exception the 3 pl. m. is like that of OJ (בעו), with a variation of orthography in the ī perfects (שְׁנֵינוּ, אֲשֶׁרְנָא), which is also found in some MSS. of OJ (Berliner, *Massorah*, p. 92). In Dan. 6. 17 and 6. 25 Strack's supralinear text reads בְּנִיתִי. The only case of a 2 pl. m. is בְּנִיתֵנוּ (Dan. 2. 8), for which supralinear MSS. read בְּנִיתֵנוֹ.

9. Baer's reading of seghol for sere in the final syllable of pausal imperf. Pael and Haphel (Dan. 2. 4, 7, 24 and 5. 12) is not accepted by Strack.

§ 29. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH

(imperfects, imperatives and infinitives)

PeAL.

PLURAL.

SINGULAR.

IMPERFECT.

PTM

OJ

בְּנִוּן

בְּנִי

3 masc.

בְּנִוּנִי

בְּנִי

fem.

בְּנִוּנוֹן

בְּנִי

2 masc.

בְּנִוּנוּ

תְּבִנּוּן

בְּנִוּנוֹן

fem.

תְּבִנּוּי

אֲבִנּוּי

fem.

בְּנִוּי

אֲבִנּוּי

1 com.

PTM APHEL. OJ	PTM PEAL. OJ	IMPERATIVE.
אָחַזְיִ	חֹזֵי	2 s. m.
אָחַזְנִ	חֹזֵן	f.
אָחַזְוִ	חֹזֵן	2 pl. m.
—	חֹזֵה	f.

Imperff. 1*. The imperfect plur 1 masc. termination *ōn* is known from the MSS. of OJ and OTA and is extended by analogy to PTM. The 2. s. f. endings in PTM are read by Dalman (p. 339) as *ain* and *ai* respectively. **חַזֵּי** might be understood to signify **חַזְמָן** (§ 2. 1).

2*. Consonantal yodh is retained by OJ and PTM in the 2 and 3 plur. fem. of all imperfects (cf. OTA **לְהַזְתָּן**, Dan. 5. 17). For the 2 s. f. in PTM see note 1.

3. Forms like **חַזְנָא** (given in Dalman's paradigm) sometimes occur for **חַזְנִ** (Gen. 24. 14, Merx), but are characteristic of the later Yemenite MSS. (§ 18, note 3).

Imperat. 4*. The PTM imperative ending *ōn* is got by analogy from the *ō* of OJ and OTA. The 2 s. f. ending *ai* is shortened from *ain* and is the only ending of which Dalman gives examples from PTM. In OJ *ă* = *ai* (cf. § 27, note 1). The 2 plur. fem. form occurs in 2 Sam. 1. 24 (**בְּכָאָה**).

5. Shortened imperatives (2 s. m.) are found in OJ. Examples: **אֲשִׁיר** (Peal—Gen. 24. 14), **שִׁיר** (Pael—Gen. 24. 2), or **אֲשִׁיר** or **אֲשִׁיר** (Aphel—Exod. 33. 5).

6*. The 2 s. m. imperat. of the derived stems is the same as the 3 s. m. perf. in OJ and PTM, the 2 pl. m. of all stems is the same as 3 pl. m. perf. in PTM and the Peal imperat. 2 plur. is the same as the 3 plur. perf. in OJ. Cf. § 19, note 4.

Infinn. 7. Infinitives of the form **מְשִׁיחָה** are found in PTM. Cf. Ezra 5. 9, **מְבָנָה**.

8. Peal infinitives with suffixes are treated in OJ like plural

nouns (§ 13, note 7), except that **אָ** is used for *ai* as the suffix of the 1st singular and that **וְ** is employed for **וְאָ**. Examples: מִתְחַזֵּה, מִתְחַזֵּא. PTM has forms like מִתְמִגְיָה or מִתְמִגְיָה (see § 37, note 6). In OTA, stems with consonantal yodh are used (מצִבְיָה, Dan. 4. 32).

9. Infinitives of the derived stems with suffixes retain the third radical in OJ אֲשֶׁקְיִתְיָה (Gen. 24. 9) and are treated like feminine nouns of the F class (§ 12, note 9) in PTM (e. g. מִמְפִתְיָה from the Pael infinitive מִמְפִיתָא).

OTA. 10. The inflexions of imperfects and imperatt. in OTA, so far as examples are found, are the same as in OJ (cf. notes 1, 2, and 4). There is no case of a feminine imperat. nor of a 2 s. f. imperf. The form יִשְׂתַּפֵּ (Dan. 5. 10), with *ō* for *ōn*, may be a special jussive form (Strack). Cf. § 38, note 3. For the infinitives see notes 7 and 8.

§ 30. VERBS FINAL YODH AND ALEPH (inflection of participles)

PAEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.
Active ptc.	Pass. ptc.	Act. ptc.
מִכְפֵּי	חֹוי	חֹוי Sing. m.
מִכְפֵּיא	חֹזֵיא	חֹזֵיא f.
מִכְפֵּן, מִכְפֵּן	חֹנוֹ, חֹזֵן	חֹנוֹ, חֹזֵן Plur. m.
-מִכְפֵּן	חֹזֵן	חֹזֵן f.

1*. In the feminine singular and plural of participles consonantal yodh is always retained and in the masc. plural the ending is *ain* in OTA and usually in PTM. In OJ the masc. plural ending is always *an*, and this form also occurs in PTM.

2*. Participles used as nouns employ the plural termination *ewān* (§ 8, note 11). Examples: רְעֵן, from רֵעַ 'shepherd', and אֱסֵן, from אֵסָן 'physician'.

3*. In the inflected forms, when the middle radical is a guttural or a doubled consonant, the supralinear MSS. regularly indicate vocal shewa before consonantal yodh (**אַשְׁרָת**, **מְחֻנָּת**). Except in these cases vocal shewa is seldom represented (Dalman, p. 340), but should be pronounced in reading in accordance with the general analogy of participle forms, except in the singular fem. of the Peal passive partic. (cf. § 10, note 14).

4*. Words like **חִי** with pronominal suffixes attached are inflected in three ways: (1) the suffixes may unite with the termination *ē* as with a plural ending (**מְחֻזָּה**, Deut. 25. 11), or (2) the final radical yodh may be retained (**בְּרִירָה**, 25. ii. 8, from **בֵּרַי**), or (3) instead of yodh, aleph may be used. In OJ always retains **א** with suffixes (Gen. 14. 20, Exod. 20. 5, Deut. 5. 9, 7. 15, 30. 7, 2 Sam. 19. 7, 22. 18, Jer. 49. 7). So also **שְׁנָאָךְ**, Dan. 4. 16, which is the only example of a suffixed form of these participles in OTA.

5. Examples of tense forms like those of § 21, note 7, are **הוֹיָנָא** (26. 6), fem. (Dalman, p. 352), **מִשְׁקִיוֹת** (Deut. 11. 10—Kahle, p. 16), (29. 25). The 1 sing. masc. of this tense is always wrongly pointed like **הַיְיָנָא** in the Yemenite MSS.

§ 31.¹ חַלְקָה, חִיא, הוּא, אַחֲרָה

APHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	APHEL.	PeAL.
אֲמַנֵּי	תְּהִיא	תְּהִם	אֲמִתִּי, אִתִּי אֲמִתָּיו, אִתָּיו	אֲתַחַתָּא אֲתֹהוּ
סְמִי	יְהִי	יְהִי	יְהִי יְהִוָּה, יְהִוָּה	יְהִי יְהִתָּה
	תְּבִי	תְּבִי	אִתְּמָא אִתְּהוּ	אִתְּהָא אִתְּהוּ
אֲחַתָּה	מְהֻיָּה	מְהֻיָּה	אִתְּתָה מִתְּתָא	מִתְּהִי PTM
מְתִי	תְּהִי	תְּהִי	מִתְּהִי	אֲתִי partic.

¹ To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

1. Several verbs, having stems with both initial aleph and final aleph or yodh, are treated like אֲחֹתָא (אֲבָא, אַיָּא, אַנְדָּא, אַפְּנָא). Of these only אֲחֹתָא has a shortened imperat. form (§ 25, note 4).

2. The imperff. and imperatt. Peal and Aphel of אֲחֹתָא are written alike, but are distinguished in pronunciation (see note 3). מִתְיָא is both infin. Peal and partic. Aphel.

Imperat. 3. In the imperat. Peal the OJ supralinear form נְאַתָּה is equivalent to אֲתָה (§ 25, note 3) and the final vowel represents an original *ai*. In PTM אֲתָה (24. ii. 13), אִיתָה (22. ii. 8), and אֲתָּה (§ 25, note 4) are all used. In Berliner's *Onkelos* ī is written in אִיתָה, אִיתָוּ, &c. (cf. אִיזְיל). The final vowel of אֲתָה may be corrected into ā (similarly in the case of אִיתָה, 22. ii. 8).

4. The 2 s. f. imperat. Peal of אֲתָה is אִיתָה (1 Kings 1. 12—Kahle, p. 29) or אֲתָּה (Chrest. 29. 22). Cf. § 29, note 4. An alternative Aphel imper. 2 plur. masc. אִיתְיָא (Gen. 42. 34) is given by Dalman (p. 356).

5. μαραθά (1 Cor. 16. 22) is explained by Dalman (p. 152, note 3) as being מְרַנָּא הָא 'Come, our Lord'. WH and von Soden both divide the word into μαρὰν ἀθά.

OTA. 6. For אֲתָה see table at the end of this section. The OTA passive forms חִתְמָה (Dan. 6. 18) and חִתְמָתָה (Dan. 3. 13) are explained as Hophal forms = (3 s. f. perf.) and (3 pl. m. perf.) respectively (Strack).

הָוֶה. 7. In OJ the longer forms of the imperf. Peal of הָוֶה are used only in the plural and (as alternatives) along with the 1 sing. In PTM short and long forms are used indifferently and both יְהָא and יְהָן occur. For PTM לְהָוָא and OTA פְּהָוָא or פְּהָהָוָא, &c., see § 18, note 6. The 3 sing. fem. impf. in OTA is פְּהָהָוָה. No shortened forms occur in OTA.

8. In the MSS. published by Kahle the shortened forms of the Peal imperf. of הָוֶה are written יְהָן and יְהָן, with the original pre-formative vowel retained (cf. § 2. 9).

9. In the verb **חַיָּא** the medial radical yodh is generally suppressed in OJ and PTM in the imperfect (and infin.) Pael and in all parts of the Aphel. The same forms are used in Syriac. Cf. also **יִתְּהִי** and Hebrew **יִתְּהִי**. For OTA see table below.

10. In OJ and OTA the impf. and infin. of **הַלְּקָה** elide the medial *ל* and assume the forms **מַהְקָה** (**יִמְהַקֵּן**) (plur. **יִמְהַקּוּ**) and **מַהְלָקָה** (**יִמְהַלְּקֵן**) respectively (cf. § 24, note 7). In the perfect and participle OJ uses only Pael forms (cf. OTA **מַהְלָקָה**). The imperf. and infin. Pael also sometimes occur in OJ.

HAPHEL.	PeAL.	PeAL.	HAPHEL.	PeAL.	OTA
			חֹתֶה, אַתְּאָ	קִיתְיִ	אַתְּהָ perf.
			חֹוֹ	קִיתְיוֹ	אַתְּוֹ
			לְחוֹתֶה		imperf.
			לְחוֹוֹ		
		חַיִּ			imperat.
		חֹתֶה			
			חִיתְיָה (חִיטְיָה)	מְתָאָ	infin.
מְחָא				אַתְּהָ	partic.

§ 32. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ז)

ITTAPHAL.	I THP ^e EL.	APHEL.	PeAL.
	PTM OJ AND PTM		
אַפְקָם	אַפְקִים	אַפְקָם	קָם perf.
אַתְּקָם			PTM
יַפְקָם	יַפְקִים	יַפְקָם	imperf.
—	אַפְקִים	אַפְקָם	imperat.
—	—	אַפְקָמָא	מַקְמָם infin.
		מַתְקָמָא	מַקְמָם PTM
מַטְקָם	מַטְקִים	מַטְקָם	partic. act.
		מַקִּים	קִים partic. pass.

Stem vowels. 1. The stem vowels of the Peal forms sometimes differ from those of the table. **Perfects in ī** are מִית ‘die’, בָּבֶן ‘be old’, and רַיר ‘spit’. **Imperfects in ē** are יְקִים, יְבִית, סְמִים, and בְּתֵה (or יְדִין) from בַּת ‘pass the night’, סָמֵךְ ‘place’, and יְבִין ‘judge’. Verbs final guttural generally have ă in the imperf. and imperat. (e.g. יְנִינֵּה), but עֲטַף ‘shake’ has imperf. יְזֹעֵעַ and imperat. עֲטַף (plur. עֲטָף). Pathah furtive no doubt always followed ă in speech, whether written or not (§ 2. 5). Verbs with imperff. in ē have **imperatives in ī** (בִּית, בִּתְחִית, Judg. 19. 6 and 9).

2*. In supralinear MSS. the Aphel stem vowel ē (perf. and imperat.) is sometimes written ī and the stem vowel ī (imperf. and partic.) is sometimes written ē. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Aphel with pronominal suffixes appears to be normally ī (אֲקִימֵה, Josh. 24. 26; Gen. 47. 7, Num. 27. 22; Dan. 3. 1, 5. 11).

Preformative vowels. 3. The preformative vowels of the Peal are sometimes treated according to the analogy of verbs y"y (§ 34), so that forms like מִיחּוּם and מִקּוּם, יְחּוּם and מִקּוּם occur. Examples: יְמֹות, Num. 35. 25 (Kahle, p. 9), יְתַבֵּב, Jer. 18. 8 (Kahle, p. 38), יְלַחְדֵּל, Exod. 12. 23.

4*. The preformative vowel of the imperff., imperatt., infinn., and particc. Aphel is often written ā in supralinear MSS. Examples: אֲנַחֲתָא אֲתַבָּא (Gen. 24. 5—Merx), אֲנַחֲתָא אֲתַבָּא (Judg. 1. 1), מְנַחָּת (2 Sam. 24. 16—Kahle, p. 27), אֲקִים (2 Sam. 24. 18—Kahle, p. 27), (Exod. 17. 11—Dalman, p. 324). In OTA preformative ā occurs in an imperfect (Dan. 2. 44) and a partic. (Dan. 5. 19) and in the uncontracted forms יְהִקִּים (Dan. 5. 21, 6. 16) and מְהִקִּים (Dan. 2. 21). In PTM the corresponding vowel is ā.

5*. When supralinear pathah is written in the perfect and imperative Aphel instead of preformative vocal shewa, it may be understood to denote vocal shewa (§ 2. 7), rather than to indicate a form according to the analogy of verbs y"y (§ 34).

Ithp^eel. 6. In OJ the stem vowel of the Ithp^eel is sometimes

written *אָקִים* (אָקִינָה, Judg. 5. 20) and the *ת* of the preformative syllable may become *ד* before initial *ד* (hence אָקִדוֹ = אָקִין = אָקִין).

Intensives. 7*. The intensive forms in use are קָיִם, קָיִים (OJ supralinear), קָמִקִים, קָמִים (OJ supralinear), and קָמְקִים. The passive of the Palpel is like מַטְלַטֵּל (Gen. 4. 12) or מַטְלַטְלָה (Gen. 4. 16).

Verbs medial waw. 8*. Verbs having consonantal waw as their medial radical are רְזֹה, צְוֹה, עֲרוֹר, חְזֹר, 'rejoice', &c., also some verbs having both medial waw and final yodh, שְׁזֹאָה, בְּנֹה, &c.

OTA. 9. In OTA both the stem vowels and the preformative vowels of the PeAL and HAPHEL are normally those of the table above. In the 3 s. m. pf. Haphel the stem vowel *ī* occurs as an alternative to *ē* (Dan. 2. 14, 6. 2) and in the participle (Dan. 2. 21) and the imperf. sing. (Dan. 2. 44, 5. 21, 6. 16) *ē* occurs as an alternative to *ī*. Preformative haṭeph seghol occurs in one Haphel form in most (?) MSS. (הַקִּימָה, Dan. 5. 11). The stem vowel of the HITHPeEL is *ā* in one verb (יִתְשָׁם) and *ī* in another (יִתְחַזֵּן). The only INTENSIVE FORMS are מְרוֹמִים (Dan. 6. 8) (Dan. 4. 34) and חְרוֹמְמִת (Dan. 5. 23). There is one HOPHAL, הַקִּימָת (Dan. 7. 4, 5). The peculiar passive form שְׁמַת (Dan. 6. 18) should perhaps be written שְׁמַת (cf. § 16, note 11). See also notes 2 and 4.

§ 33. MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (inflected forms)

APHEL.

PeAL.

Imperat.	Perfect.	Partic.	Perfect.	
אָקִים	אָקִים	קָאִים, קָיִם	מִית	קִם
אָקִיכִי	אָקִימָת	קָוִמָּא	מִיתָת	קִמָת
	אָקִימְתָּה		מִיתְתָּה - פָא	קִמְתָּה - פָא

קָמוֹ		קִימָן	מִיתָן	
אָקִיכִו	אָקִימָוּ	קָיִמוּ	אָקִיכִוָּה	(מִיתָא ?)
אָקִיכִא	אָקִיכִא	קָיִיכִא	אָקִיכִא	קִמְאָה

Peal perff. 1*. The forms of the table are those of the supra-linear punctuation. The stem vowel of the perf. Peal is *ā* only in the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. In Syriac and OTA *ā* is the stem vowel throughout the perf. Peal, and this pointing is used by Dalman in his *Dialektproben*. The inflected forms of מִתְהָרָה are treated like those of perfects in şere.

Partic. 2*. In OJ (and sometimes in PTM) the uninflected participle Peal has the form of verbs medial aleph. In the inflected forms yodh is written for aleph in both OJ and PTM. In OTA the inflected forms have נ in the Kethibh and ' in the Qere, except in נַאֲמֵנָה (Dan. 7. 16). The inflected participle forms of verbs medial aleph retain נ in OJ and sometimes in PTM (1 Sam. 8. 10, 1 Kings 2. 20; Chrest., 20. 14). Cf. § 23, note 9, and Dalman, p. 305.

OTA. 3. In OTA the termination of the 1 s. pf. is *eth* (שְׁמַת), Ezra 6. 12; קְיֻמָת, Dan. 3. 14). For the form יְחִינָה (Ezra 4. 12) see § 35, note 5.

§ 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS (ע"ע)

APHEL.		PEAL.	
אֲעִיל	אֲבִינוֹ	עַל	בֹּנוֹ (בָּנוֹ)
יְעִיל	יְבִינוֹ	יְעַוֵּל	יְבִנוֹ
אֲעִיל	אֲבִינוֹ	עוֹל	בֹּנוֹ
אֲעַלְאָה	אֲבִוֹא	מִיעָל	מִבֹּנוֹ
מְעַל	מְבִינוֹ	עַלְלִיל	בִּבְ�וֹן
מְעַל	מְבֹנוֹ	עַלְלִיל	בִּבְ�וֹן

Disyllabic stems. 1*. Disyllabic stems are used in the Peal participles, all intensive forms, Ithpeels, and Shaphels. Examples: שְׂכִילִיל, אֲתִבּוֹן, מְלִילִי. See also § 35, note 4.

2*. The intensive forms are of the types עַזְלִיל, עַלְלִיל (especially PTM), עַזְיָל (OJ), and עַלְעִיל. עַזְיָל is borrowed from the עַע stems (§ 32). The use of עַלְלִיל is a special feature of the supralinear vocalization. מִקְצֵן (25.4) is the passive participle of this form.

Stem vowels. **3***. The stem vowel of the 3 s. m. perf. Peal, which is pathah in Syriac and OTA, is always ā in the supralinear vocalization of OJ, following the analogy of the verbs of § 32. The stem vowel of the imperf. Peal is either ā or ē (יִיחַם, יִבְתַּח, יִתְרַע).

Preform. vowels. **4***. The imperf., imperat., and infin. Peal and all the tenses of the Aphel have the same forms as the corresponding parts of verbs initial nun (§ 24). In the imperf. and infin. Peal preformative ī is lengthened to ē before an initial stem guttural, but is retained before initial resh (ירֹא, Lev. 15.8). This treatment is reversed in the only two cases that occur in OTA (מִתְחַנֵּן, Dan. 4. 24; מִתְרַע, Dan. 2. 40).

Participles. **5.** In PTM the participle form עַזְיָל (§ 32) is sometimes used in place of עַלְלִיל. In OJ contracted plurals like עַלְלִין, for עַלְלִין, are a feature of supralinear texts. In OTA עַלְלִין (Kethibh) is replaced by עַלְלִין or עַלְלִין or עַלְלִין (Dan. 4. 4, 5. 8).

6. Aphel participles like מִיקְלָן and מִיקְלָן in PTM are viewed as Hebraisms by Dalman.

7. From מִעְלָה (25.5), from מִעְלָה, follows the ordinary rule for the inflexion of participles. For מִקְלִין (23.8) see § 21, note 6.

Borrowed forms. **8***. The forms appropriate to עַע stems (§ 32) are transferred to verbs of this class in the cases named in notes 2, 3, and 5, and in others also (e.g. in Judg. 6. 26 מִקְרָא = אֶקְרָא).

Ittaphal. **9.** The Ittaphal forms are like אֶתְעַל and אֶתְחַל.

OTA. **10.** For the PeAL perf. see note 3, and for the only examples of imperf. infin. and partic. see notes 4 and 5. There are three types of INTENSIVES in OTA: מִלְל (three verbs), מִרְעָש (Dan. 2. 40), and אֲשַׁׁוּם (Dan. 4. 16). In the HAPHEL, preformative

80 § 34. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS

pathahּ becomes seghol before ע (העַלְחָ, Dan. 5. 7). There are two cases of erroneously dissimilated Haphel forms (הנִעַלְתָה, Dan. 2. 25, 6. 19, and הַנִּעַלְתָה, Dan. 4. 3). Cf. § 26, note 9. For normal Haphel forms see table p. 96. A HOPHAL form of one verb is found (העַלְתָה).

§ 35. PARTIALLY MONOSYLLABIC STEMS
(inflected forms)

APHEL.		PeAL.	
PERFECT.		PERFECT.	
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.
אֲעִילָוֹ	אֲעִיל	עַלְוָה (עַלְוָה)	עַל (עַלְ)
אֲעִילָאָ	אֲעִילָת	עַלְאָ	עַלְתָה
אֲעִילָתָה	אֲעִילָתָה	עַלְתָהוֹן	עַלְתָה -תָה
אֲעִילָתָן	אֲעִילָתָן	עַלְתָהוֹן	עַלְתָה
אֲעִילָתָן	אֲעִילָתָן	עַלְתָה	עַלְתָה
אֲעִילָתָן	אֲעִילָתָן	עַלְנָא	עַלְתָה
IMPERFECT.		IMPERFECT.	
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.
יַעֲלָוֹן	יַעֲלֵל	יַעֲלָוֹן	יַעֲלֵל
תַּעֲלָוֹן	תַּעֲלֵל	תַּעֲלָוֹן	תַּעֲלֵל
נַעֲלָוֹן	נַעֲלֵל	נַעֲלָוֹל	נַעֲלֵל
IMPERATIVE.		IMPERATIVE.	
Plur.	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.
אֲעִילָוֹ	אֲעִיל	עַלְגָוֹ	עַלְגָוֹ
אֲעִילָאָ	אֲעִילָת	עַלְקָאָ	עַלְקָאָ

1*. Following Dalman's precedent, and in accordance with the analogy of OTA, the final radical has been doubled in the above table, before vocalic endings, in the Peal perfect and imperative, but not in the Aphel. In Berliner's *Onkelos* doubling is not indicated in any tense.

2*. In the 3 pl. m. perf. Peal the stem vowel *ā* (appropriate to יְלָא stems) is sometimes written in supralinear MSS. for *ă*. The only example of a 3 plur. masc. perf. Peal in OTA is treated in this way (פְּלָא, Dan. 2. 35). See also § 34, note 3.

3. Supralinear pathah in imperf. forms like יִיְעַלְוֵי (Deut. 10. 11—Kahle, p. 15) may be regarded as representing haṭeph pathah (§ 2. 7).

4. Peal and Aphel forms like רְקַמְתָּ (PTM), עֲלַלְתָּ (Dan. 5. 10, Kethibh), and פְּטַלְלָה (Dan. 4. 9), with repetition of the final radical, occur in PTM and OTA.

OTA. 5. The distinctive features of OTA are as follows: In the inflected forms of the imperative PeAL the stem vowel is *ō* (אֹלֶךְ, Dan. 4. 11, 20). In the perfect HOPHAL some MSS. double the final radical before the plural ending (הָעַלְוִי, Dan. 5. 15), others do not. In HAPHEL forms, when the stem vowel (*ē*) becomes vocal shewa, it is written haṭeph seghol in some MSS. (מְדֻקָּה, Dan. 7. 7, 19, תְּדֻקָּנָה, Dan. 7. 23—Baer, Ginsburg, Strack). Perhaps יְחִיטָה (Ezra 4. 12) was originally intended for יְחִיטֵּה (cf. § 2. 8, 9). But the tense, termination (§ 18, note 7) and possibly stem vowel (cf. § 34, note 8) are all abnormal. There is no other example of the 3 plur. imperf. Haphel of an יְלָא verb in OTA. See also notes above, and for הָרְקַת or הָרְקָתָה (Dan. 2. 34, 45), § 17, note 6.

§ 36. VERBAL SUFFIXES

1*. For the various forms of the accusative suffixes see pp. 90–91. In PTM the suffixes added to verbal stems ending in a consonant are those of § 4 and the suffixes added to stems ending in a vowel are presumably those of § 12, note 2, although the only possible vocalic stem is the 2 sing. fem. perf. (for the 2 s. m. and the 3 pl. see notes 3 and 5). In OJ the variations from the suffixes of §§ 4 and 12 are in the 1 singular, יְ or יְ, for ī, and in the 3 plural,

where the independent pronoun אָנוּ is substituted for הֵן (וְ). For the forms of the suffixes added to the 3 s. f. perf. see note 6. In OJ, in agreement with the Hebrew text, the suffix of the 2 plural is rarely found. It seems never to occur with a 3 sing. masc. perf. stem.

2*. In OJ אָנוּ is joined in writing to the verbal stem with which it is associated, נִ being omitted when the stem ends in a consonant and the form being reduced to נִנְיָה with the 3 s. f. perf. and to פִּנְיָה in union with stems ending in a vowel (שְׁלַחֲתָנִין, שְׁלַחֲפָנִין; שְׁלַחֲפָנִין). The forms of the verbal stems are not modified before אָנוּ except in the 1 s. perf., in which בְּתִיבָת and בְּתִיבָתִים are used for בְּתִיבָה, &c.

3*. The difference between PTM and OJ in the endings of the 3 plur. perf. and 2 plur. imperat. involves a further difference in the suffixes attached to these forms. PTM uses the suffixes appropriate to the consonantal ending *an*, while OJ uses those required by the vocalic ending *a*. Examples: אָפְקִינִיה (25. ii. 2), אָפְקִיתִיה (Gen. 19. 16).

Perfect 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. 4. For the stem forms of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Pael and Aphel with suffixes see paradigm, p. 90. Pael perfects are treated like Aphels. In the suffixed forms of the perfects Pael and Aphel the final stem vowel generally becomes vocal shewa both in the 3 sing. and the 3 plural (אָפְקִיתִיה, Gen. 19. 16), although sometimes the orthography of PTM presumably indicates the retention of the full vowel (20. ii. 2, אָמְלִיכִינִיה, 21. i. 1, אָמְלִיכִינִיה).

OJ plural forms are sometimes found in PTM (נִצְחָנִים). Sometimes the vowel points in Dalman's *Dialektproben* are unnecessarily those of OJ, instead of being those of PTM. In 21. ii. 7 יְהִבּוֹנִין should be יְהִבּוֹנִין, and in 28. 5 אָרְפּוֹנִין should be אָרְפּוֹנִין.

2 sing. and 1 sing. 5. In OJ and PTM the forms of the 1 sing. perf. with suffixes are like בְּתִיבָת, &c. The 2 sing. masc. and 1 sing. com. with suffixes of the 3 s. m. or 3 pl. (where

ambiguity arises) are distinguished in OJ by the use of the form **בְּחִבָּתָה** for the 2 s. m. But ambiguous forms with suffixes of the 3 sing. fem. like אֲשַׁפְחַתָּה 'I have found her' (Gen. 38. 22) and 'thou hast found her' (Gen. 38. 23) are in use. (Gen. 31. 28) = σαβαχθανεί (Matt. 27. 46), having a suffix of the first person, can only mean 'thou hast forsaken me'. In PTM the 2 s. m. is clearly distinguished from the 1 sing. com. by its employment of the termination *inn* (note 8) before suffixes (שְׁבִקְתָּנִי, אֲשַׁפְחַתָּה). The 2 sing. fem. perf. is distinguished by its retention of the old termination *i* before suffixes (אֲשַׁפְחַתֵּה).

3 s. f. 6*. The 3 sing. fem. perf. with suffixes is sometimes written as if it were 1 sing. com. (מִלְכִתִּים 'she counselled him', Judg. 1. 14). All the cases noted by Praetorius (Judg. 1. 14) are forms in which the suffix is 3 s. m. The unambiguous forms are: שְׁלִיחַתָּנִי, שְׁלִיחַתָּנוּן, שְׁלִיחַתָּנוֹן, שְׁלִיחַתָּה; שְׁלִיחַתָּה, שְׁלִיחַתָּה, שְׁלִיחַתָּה.

1 plur. and 2 plur. 7. The suffixed stem of the 1 plur. perf. in OJ is the same as the independent stem, but written without נ (שְׁלִיחַנָּה). Instead of שְׁלִיחַנָּה the form שְׁלִיחַנָּה is used. In PTM the forms שְׁלִיחַנָּת, &c., are used with suffixes. Dalman explains ת as derived from the accus. particle יְתָ (§ 4, note 4). The suffixed stems of the 2 plur. masc. perf. are like שְׁלִיחַתָּו in OJ (suffixes as § 12) and like שְׁלִיחַתָּו in PTM (suffixes as in § 4).

Imperf. stems. 8*. The stems of imperfects with suffixes are treated similarly in OJ and PTM. The syllable *inn* is added to the stems of all imperfects (cf. Hebrew יְעַבְּרֵנִי), except in OJ before the 3 plur. masc. suffix. The suffixes are the same as those added to perfect stems. (See paradigm, p. 90 f.). The orthography יְרַדְפֵּנִו for יְרַדְפֵּנִי and יְרַדְפֵּנִו for יְרַדְפֵּנִו in Yemenite MSS. is a Hebraism due to late correctors (Dietrich in *ZATW*. xx. 152).

Imperat. stems. 9. In OJ singular imperative stems with suffixes remain unchanged and the suffixes are those of § 12, except in the cases of the 1 sing. and 3 plural. In PTM the Pael and

Aphel singular imperat. stems with suffixes are identical with the corresponding perfect stems. The Peal imperat. stem is distinguished from its perfect by the vowels *ı* or *ü* following the initial radical. These vowels are sometimes indicated in the MSS. by yodh and waw respectively.

The imperative plural stem in OJ is like בְּתַבִּי and in PTM like בְּתַבּוֹן (see paradigm, p. 91). Pael and Aphel perfect and imperative plural forms are generally not distinguishable. The Aphel imperat. in OJ occasionally retains its final stem vowel (e. g. אֲפִיקָוֶהָא = 'bring her out' = אֲפִקָּוֶהָא).

עַנְנָה stems. 10*. The forms of עַנְנָה verbs undergo no change when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

Syntax. 11. The use of an anticipative pronominal suffix before a definite accusative governed by a verb, an idiom characteristic of Syriac, is found occasionally in OJ (Gen. 39. 15, שָׁבְקִיָּה, אֲשֶׁבְקִיָּה, 'he left his garment beside me') and PTM (22. ii. 4, לְלִבְשֵׂיהָ לְזֹתִי, 'he ordered the messenger'; 21. 7, 22. ii. 6).

12. The subject of a dependent clause introduced by הַ is also sometimes preceded by an anticipative pronoun (16. 6, אֲשֶׁבְחִיָּה, דָּתָהָ מַבּוֹן, 'he found that he had been selling'). It is idiomatic to put the subject of such a dependent clause into the principal sentence as an object (16. ii. 11, חַמְתָּא לְהַחְנָא דָבָן דְּקָאִים בְּתִרְיָה, 'he saw that the buyer was standing behind him').

13. Occasionally the object pronoun of the 3 plural is used indefinitely for 'some people' (28. 4, חַמְתָּא קָטְלִין, 'he saw some men killing' (mice); for the verbal stem see § 37, note 1).

§ 37.¹ VERBAL SUFFIXES WITH נַלְלָה STEMS

Perf. 3 s. m. 1. In PTM the termination of 3 s. m. of all perfects with suffixes is treated like the ending of a feminine noun

¹ To be passed over on a first reading of the grammar.

(cf. § 36, note 7). Examples: חִמְתִּיה or חִמְתֵּיה (or חִמְתָּה) and אַיִתִיה, בְּפִתִּיה. In the derived stems these forms, when unvocalized, are the same as the 3 s. f. (note 4), and in the Peal חִמְתֵּיה is always ambiguous, ‘he saw him’ or ‘she saw him’ (note 5).

2. In OJ the 3 s. m. perf. Peal with suffixes either retains (consonantal) חִתְאִית, חִתְאָק (א, &c.) or is treated as ending in a vowel (חִתְהִי, חִתְהָ). With אֲנוֹ the suffixed forms are like חִזְבֵּן.

3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. **3.** In OJ the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. perfects Peal and Aphel with suffixes generally preserve the third radical yodh. Examples: אַיִתִינָה (Gen. 2. 15), אַשְׁרִיָּה (Gen. 2. 22), אַמְצָעִי (Gen. 3. 13), אַיִתִיכִי (Judg. 1. 7). With אֲנוֹ the ordinary stem is used (אַחֲרִיכֶן).

In PTM the third radical yodh is sometimes retained both in Peal perfects (25. iii. 7, מִחְיִינָה = מִחְיִינֵה), and in perfects of the derived stems (cf. notes 1 and 5).

3 s. f. **4.** In OJ and PTM the ending of the 3 s. f. of ī perfects (§ 27) is generally contracted to יְתָ before suffixes. Examples: אַיִתִיכָה (Judg. 4. 19), אַשְׁקִתָּה (Chrest. 18. 13). In PTM these are also imperative forms (note 7).

Perf. stems. **5.** In the other parts of the perfect tenses suffixes are generally added to the unchanged verbal stem. Examples: חִוְתִּיה (OJ 2 s. m.), חִוְתִּיה (3 s. f. sing.), חִוְתִּיה (3 pl. perf. Peal), חִזְגִּינָה (PTM 3 pl.). For חִמְינָה (1 plur.) see § 36, note 7.

In some supralinear MSS. the ending of the 3 pl. m. pf. Peal with suffixes is written ū instead of ī (מִחְיָה, Judg. 1. 8; מִחְיָה, Judg. 1. 4).

Impf. stems. **6.** In all imperf. tenses the suffixed stem is made by adding א to the ordinary stem (§ 36, note 8). Examples: יְחִזְגִּיָּה, יְחִזְגִּיָּה. When אֲנוֹ is used the forms are like that of יְחִזְגִּיכֶן. In some supralinear MSS. the vowels before nn are i instead of ē, and ū instead of ī (יְחִזְגִּיָּה, יְחִזְגִּיָּה). Cf. OTA, § 38, note 5.

Imperat. stems. 7. In OJ imperatives 2 s. m. and 2 pl. m. stems are unchanged when suffixes are added (אֲחִזֵּן, חֹזֶה). In some MSS. *ā* is written for *ō* and forms with consonantal yodh are also found (אֲחִזֵּנָא, Judg. 1. 24).

In PTM the termination *i* of the 2 s. m. is treated like a feminine termination (23. ii. 7, אִתְּתִּית). 2 pl. m. forms are like אֲרִפְנוּן (for which in 28. 5 Dalman puts אֲרִפְנוּן).

Participles. 8. *nn* is used with other suffixed stems than those named above, e. g. with participles (29. 7, מִפְגִּישָׁה, i. e. מִפְגִּישִׁים).

§ 38. VERBAL SUFFIXES IN OTA

Suffix forms. 1. The forms of the verbal suffixes in OTA and the treatment of the stems to which they are attached agree closely with the corresponding features of OJ. The accusative pronoun 'them' is not expressed by a suffix but by some one of three independent pronouns—the *הַמּוֹ*—(eight times), *הַמּוֹן* (three times), and *אַפְנֵן* (Dan. 6. 25). The suffixes attached to verbal stems vary according as the stem ends in a consonant or a vowel. In the former case, they are the same as the suffixes joined to nouns, except that *לִי* is 'me' and that *נָא* is written for *נָּא* in the only case of its occurrence (Dan. 2. 23). In the latter case, the suffixes that actually occur are: *בָּזָן*, *לִי*, *לְךָ* (2 s. m.), *לִי* (§ 12), *נָא*, and *נָּא*.

Perf. stems. 2. The stems of the 3 s. m. and 3 pl. m. of all perfects are treated as in OJ (see OJ paradigm, p. 90). Examples: הַקְרָבּוּנִי, חַבְלָוּנִי, הַשְׁלָטָה, חַטְמָה.

The only examples of other parts of a perfect tense with suffixes are two of the 2 s. m. in Dan. 2. 23 (*הַזְעַטָּנִי* and *הַזְעַטָּנָא*) and one 1 sing. of a לְאָ verb (note 5).

Imperf. stems. 3. Imperfects with suffixes closely resemble those of OJ and PTM (§ 36, note 8). *לְ* is combined with stems ending in a consonant and *לְ* with stems ending in a vowel. Exam-

ples: יִשְׁפַּטְשׁוּנָה, יִשְׁיוּבְנָה, יִתְגַּנֵּה. With the suffix of the 2 pl. m. הָיְהָ is written, without daghesh, and in one case the preceding vowel is seghol (ישָׁלַגְכֹּן, Dan. 3. 15; ישָׁאַלְגְּכֹן, Ezra 7. 21). In the case of two imperfects used in a jussive sense the suffixes are added to the verbal stem without *nn* (יבְּחַלֵּךְ, Dan. 4. 16; יִבְּחַלֵּךְ, Dan. 5. 10).

Imperat. stems. 4. The only imperat. with suffixes in OTA are לְאָנָה (Dan. 2. 24), חֲלֹוָה (Dan. 4. 20), and one from a verb (note 5). They agree with the forms of OJ (§ 36, note 9).

ל"א verbs. 5. There are seven cases in OTA of ל"א verbs with suffixes attached. The PERFECT form בְּנִיתָה 'I have built it' (Dan. 4. 27) is peculiar in having *ai* for ε (§ 28, note 6) and seghol for vocal shewa. Some MSS. read בְּנִיתָה. The other cases of perfect stems with suffixes (שְׁנוֹתִי, בְּנָתִי) agree with the practice of OJ (§ 37, notes 2 and 5).

In the 3 s. m. IMPERFECT before ה the šere of the independent form (יִתְהַזֵּה) is replaced by hireq (יִתְהַזֵּה, יִתְהַזֵּנִי) and in the plural וְ is replaced by וּ, 2 pl. m. impf. Haphel). For similar forms in OJ see § 37, note 6.

The only ל"א IMPERATIVE form is the 2 pl. m. imperat. Haphel חֲתוֹנִי (Dan. 2. 6).

ע"ו verbs. 6. No change takes place in the stems of ע"ו verbs when suffixes are attached (but see § 32, note 2).

PARADIGM OF VERB (O)

PARADIGM OF VERBAL SUFFIXES (OJ AND PTM)

Perfect.

APHEL.

PeAL.

PeAL.

3 plur. m.

PTM

3 plur. m.

3 sing. m.

אָרְפַּחֲנִי
אָרְפַּחֲךָ
אָרְפַּחֲןָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
—
אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנִי
אָרְפַּחֲךָ
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
—
אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנִי
אָרְפַּחֲךָ
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
—
אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנִי
אָרְפַּחֲךָ
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
—
אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנָה

Imperfect.

3 plur. m.
PTM
3 sing. m.

3 sing. m.
PTM
3 sing. m.

אָרְפַּחֲנִי
אָרְפַּחֲךָ
אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנִי
אָרְפַּחֲךָ
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
—
אָרְפַּחֲנָה

אָרְפַּחֲנִי
אָרְפַּחֲךָ
אָרְפַּחֲנָה
—
אָרְפַּחֲנָה

רְפָאֵנִי	רְפָאֵנֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת

Imperative.

PTM	2 plur. m.	2 sing. m.	PTM	2 sing. m.
רְפָאֵנִי	רְפָאֵנֶנִי	רְפָאֵנֶנִי	רְפָאֵנִי	רְפָאֵנִי
רְפָאֵנֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת
רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת	רְפָאֵנֶתֶתֶתֶת

OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

Personal pronouns (nominatives).

אַנְךָ	אַנְךְּ	אַנְךָ	1 com.
אַנְתָּךְ	(אַנְתָּךְ)	אַנְתָּךְ	2 masc.
—	—	—	fem.
אַנְתָּךְ	, אַנְתָּךְ	אַנְתָּךְ	3 masc.
אַנְתָּךְ	, אַנְתָּךְ	אַנְתָּךְ	fem.

Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives.

אֵת	, אֵת	אֵת	this	אֵת	masc.
—	, אֵת	אֵת	—	אֵת	fem.
אֵת	, אֵת	אֵת	those	אֵת	these

Inflexion of Nouns.

אֲנָשִׁים	אֲנָשִׁים	אֲנָשִׁים	Singular absolute.
אֲנָשִׁים	אֲנָשִׁים	אֲנָשִׁים	construct.
אֲנָשִׁים	אֲנָשִׁים	אֲנָשִׁים	emphatic.

שָׁאַלְכִּי	תְּבִרְךָ	יְמִין	יְמִין	Plural	absolute.
שָׁאַלְכָּת	תְּבִרְכָּת	יְמִין	יְמִין		construct.
שָׁאַלְכָּתָא	תְּבִרְכָּתָא	יְמִינָא	יְמִינָא		emphatic.

Nouns with suffixes.

SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.	SINGULAR.	PLURAL.
שָׁאַלְכִּי	תְּבִרְכִּי	יְמִין	יְמִין	יְמִין	יְמִינָא
שָׁאַלְכָּת	תְּבִרְכָּת	יְמִינָה	(יְמִינָה)	יְמִינָה	יְמִינָא (יְמִינָא)
שָׁאַלְכָּתָא	תְּבִרְכָּתָא	יְמִינָא	יְמִינָא	יְמִינָא	יְמִינָוֹת
שָׁאַלְכָּתָבוֹת	תְּבִרְכָּתָבוֹת	יְמִינָוֹת	יְמִינָוֹת	יְמִינָוֹת	יְמִינָוֹת
שָׁאַלְכָּתָבוֹתָא	תְּבִרְכָּתָבוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָא
שָׁאַלְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹת	תְּבִרְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹת
שָׁאַלְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹתָא	תְּבִרְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָא
שָׁאַלְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹת	תְּבִרְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹת	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹת
שָׁאַלְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹתָא	תְּבִרְכָּתָבוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹתָא	יְמִינָוֹתָנוֹתָנוֹתָא

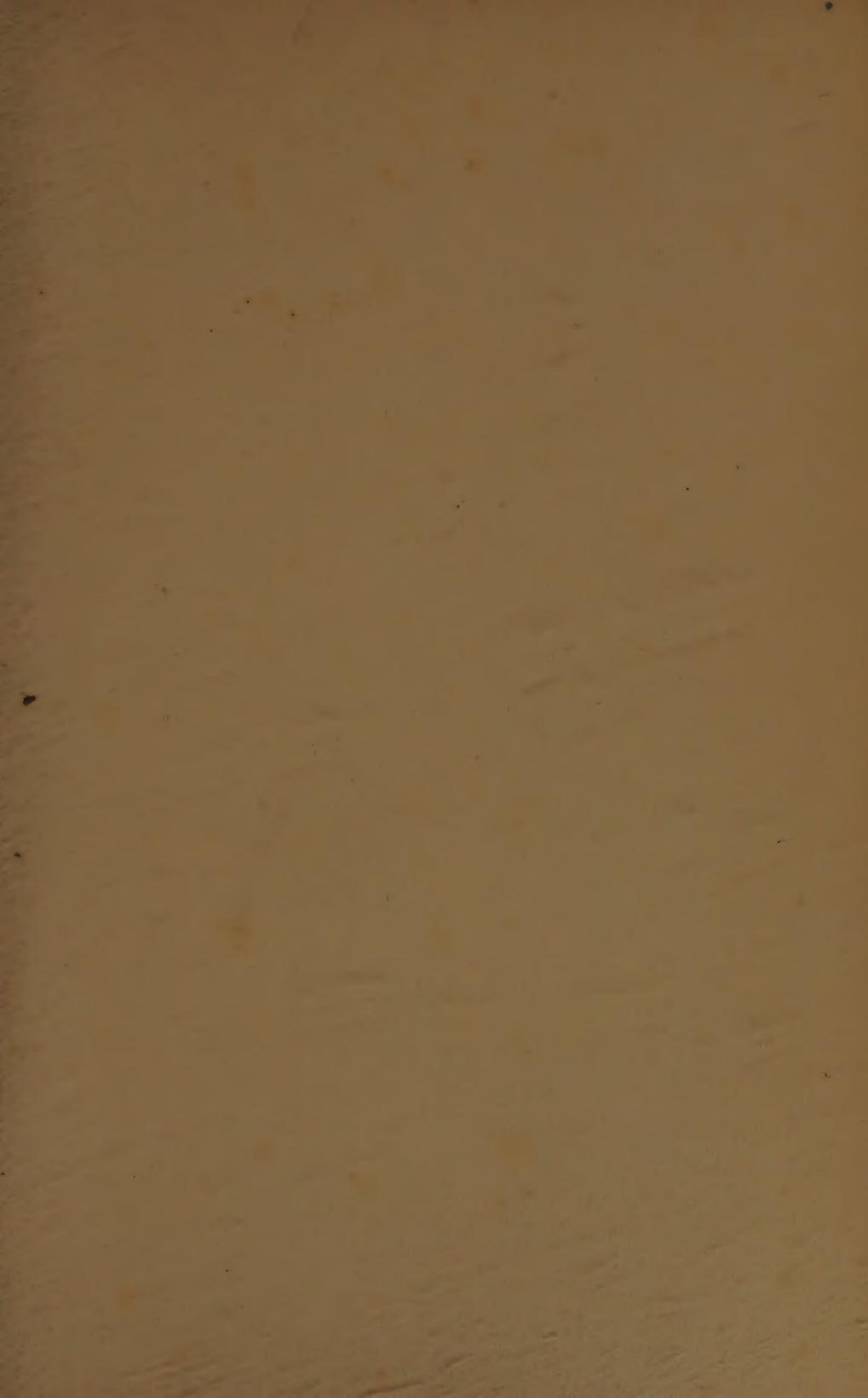
OTA PARADIGM OF VERB

¹¹ See § 16 note 12.

² See § 18, Notes 3 and 4.

OLD TESTAMENT ARAMAIC

TABLE OF VERBS





KU-340-846